

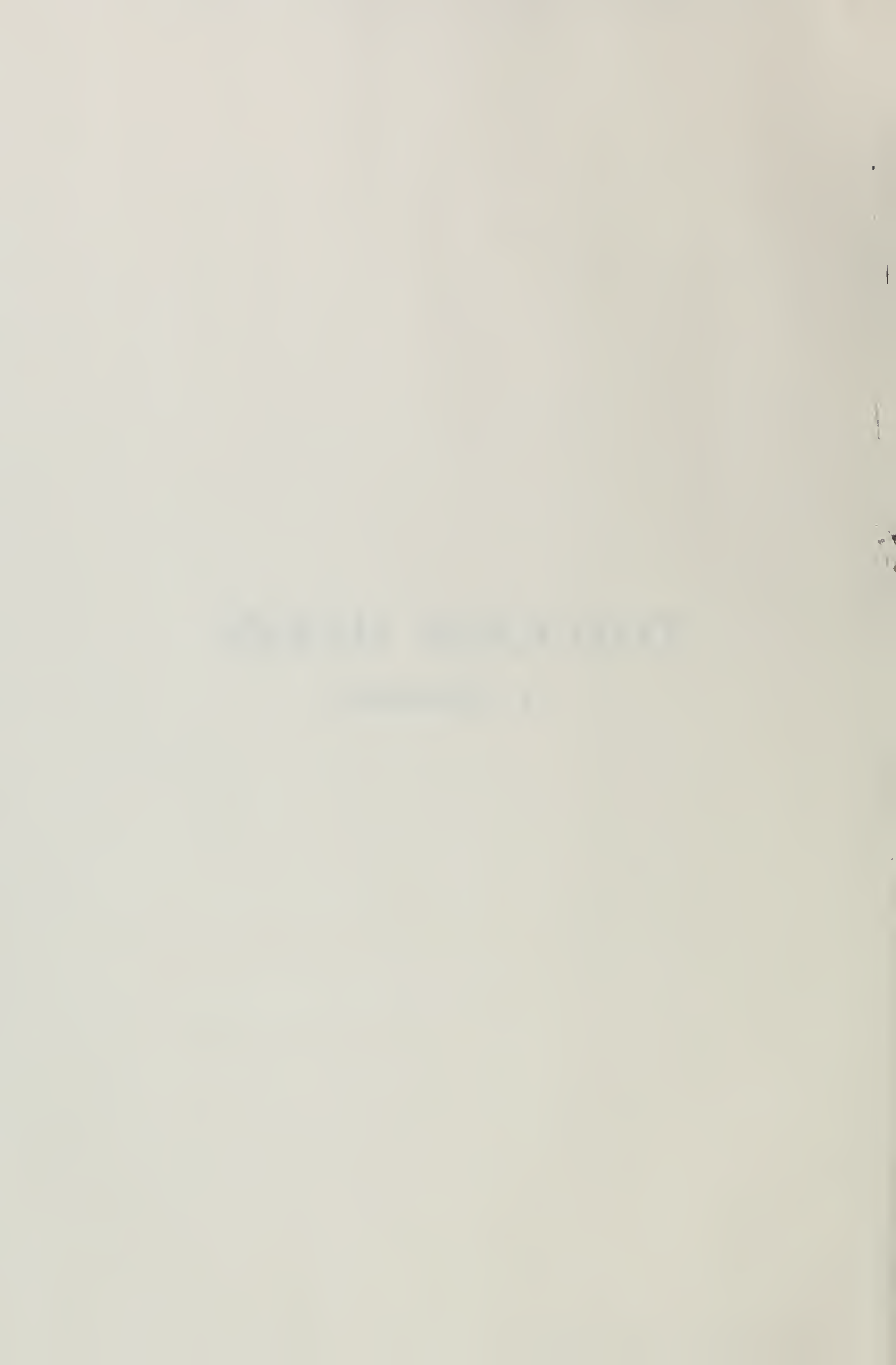






THEODOR HERZL

A Memorial



In the Family Circle: Herzl with His Wife and Children, Together with Dr. and Mrs. Oskar Marmorek

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N° Téléphonique 247 53



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Meine theure gute Mama,

als ich von London kürzlich zurückkehrte u. meinen Freunden Nordau u. Marmorek die letzten Ergebnisse berichtete, sagte Nordau: „Für die Grösse Ihrer Leistung gibt es keine Worte, und es ist wunderbar, dass das jüdische Volk noch im Stande war, einen Herzl hervorzubringen."

Ich habe das natürlich entschieden abgelehnt, weil man sich nicht lächerlich machen darf, aber Dir sage ich es um Dein Herz zu erfreuen. Auch kommt jedes Lob, wenn ich überhaupt welches verdiene, Euch meinen guten Eltern zu, denen ich Alles was ich bin verdanke, Dir und diesem geliebten guten unvergesslichen Vater, mit dessen theurem Andenken ich mich täglich beschäftige, wo immer ich auch sei. Ich sage ihm auf meine eigene Art Kaddisch.

Morgen, Mamakám, theure, reise ich nach Hause. Ich glaube wohlverrichteter Dinge. Ich werde nicht telegraphiren. Wenn Du bis Donnerstag kein Telegramm hast, bin ich zu Guten Donnerstag Abend zu Hause.

Ich umarme Dich zärtlich.

Dein treuer Sohn

Theodor

A Letter Home: A Facsimile of a Note to His Mother Written by Herzl after Returning from a Visit to London

people need sleep. Old men do not. At any rate, they don't sleep."

Again his head dropped, imposing silence. Was this realist, this "extinguisher of the heavenly lights" falling into the fallacies of spiritualism or necromancy in his old age? Was he going to tell me about lone séances with rapping ghosts and shuffling phantoms?

"NOTHING like that," he blurted out, as if he had read my thoughts.

"The past is a refuge, even though I always look ahead. At nights, when this boiling cauldron that is Paris simmers down, they come back here to visit me, those men of the past. They commune with me and spend an hour or so. After that they go off again, on their business, out there in the ether.

"Socrates, Galileo, Hugo, Goethe, Zola, George Washington, they all drop in from time to time. And many others. Pope Leo XIII, for instance. Others still. Pompous and ridiculous fellows some of them, who made a dreadful *fracas* when they were alive. They have quieted down a good deal, since they died," he went on with a chuckle. "They are well-behaved when they visit me. They walk with muffled step. Better behaved than some mortals, I might say.

"Herzl, too, comes. He does not speak. He sits in that armchair over there, and his presence fills the room. He does not cry out his anguish over his people, he does not sing psalms of hope for his fatherland over there in Asia under the English. He only thinks, and his thoughts flit through the atmosphere and enter into my own mind. And I think of the past. Herzl's image shakes me from my torpor as he shook the guilty and criminal nations who, in the course of human evolution, have been responsible for the scandal of Israel.

"I am not going to analyze Herzl's philosophy. You younger men have that task. Only, when you write about him and dissect him, don't bury the *élan* of his thoughts or entomb the fire of his vision and his enthusiasm into a mummified pile of words. If you do, you have missed your calling.

"A fire cannot be hidden," went on the Tiger. "There was a breath of eternity in that man Herzl. The Burning Bush and Revolutionary Sinai took shape in his appearance.

"He was a man of genius, not to be confounded with a man of talent. There are plenty of men of talent in the world. Men of genius are rare.

"How to draw the distinction between the two? It must be sensed. Men of genius are recognized by their gigantic proportions, often enclosed in a *cadre* of an ordinary existence. Their evolution is accomplished according to an unseizable process. Their way of acting, of understanding, of discovering the real substance of things and beings is manifested in an altogether personal and original manner. They are beyond ordinary logic, they surpass the level of their contemporaries and are therefore often misunderstood—or, rather, not understood at all.

"Such a man was Herzl. Amid all the defection of character which marked his day, the weakness of thought, the furor of clashing interests, he dared to give himself. All the ancestral disquietude of Israel expressed itself in him.

"What audacity! What courage! What ardor of life! He was like a projector who threw light on the road ahead, a road to be traced by those who came after him. His 'emotivation' gave impulse to events that followed.

"He knew disillusionment. He was under crossfires, you might say. His own knew him not, or did not rally to him with spontaneous impulse, at any rate. He died without having seen his vision begin its realizable phase. But he had given Israel a sense of his destiny, which had become lost in the Dispersion. That cannot be denied. He forced it on Jewry."

M. Clemenceau stopped talking. Piles of manuscripts on his desk and the general knowledge in Paris that he is working under pressure—a race with death, perhaps—to answer Marshal Foch, to fling what he calls "a last thunderbolt," made me realize the indelicacy of trespassing further on his time. So I rose to leave.

"He was a fighter," added Clemenceau, himself a matador of fifty years.

"But for what did he fight? Tell me that!"

"He fought for recognition of Israel, I imagine," I said.

"Nothing of the sort," snapped the Tiger. "He fought Israel."

"Fought Israel, *Monsieur le Président*?"

"Yes. Do you know Delacroix' painting at St. Sulpice?"

"Of Jacob battling the Angel?"

"Precisely!"

"It's a terrific combat that the artist presents to us. And still you gain the impression that they are not fighting. Jacob seems more concerned with holding the Angel near him on earth than resisting him. And the Angel is fully capable of overpowering Jacob but does not do it. You sense there is infinite love between those two, in spite of the struggle.

"And after the battle, what then?" asked M. Clemenceau. "What happens? Tell me!"

"After the battle Jacob is no longer Jacob. He is Israel. He rises blessed from the celestial contact. Isn't that what the Bible says?"

"That's it, young man, *c'est cela!* Think of that when you write of Herzl and Israel. No longer Jacob, but Israel, and Israel blessed by the contact!"

ASSIMILATION, which implies, in addition to external conformity in dress, habits, customs and language, identity also of feelin[illegible] manner—assimilation of Jews could only be e[illegible]te[illegible] marriage. But the need for mixed m[illegible] have to be felt by the majority; their r[illegible] by law would certainly not suffice.

From the Judenstaat.

In the Family Circle

An Intimate Glimpse of Theodor Herzl At Home

By ELLA NASCHAUER

The family life of Theodor Herzl was entirely idyllic in character. His affection for his parents, his love for his wife and children are apparent in every instance. This memoir is written by Herzl's youngest sister-in-law, who had the opportunity of observing him in the very center of the family circle.

IN his relations with the more distant members of his family, Herzl was distinguished by that discreet bearing which makes impertinent or insistent questioning impossible. It was a characteristic of his aristocratic temperament; but its results were not always entirely pleasant. It overclouded at times his cheerful and kindly manner; but more than once he made a deliberate effort to change his mood into one of pleasantry. It was perhaps in this manner that he came to reveal himself to his family, as an impromptu poet. On one occasion I asked him to sign his name on a photograph he had given me. Complying, he wrote the following quatrain on the picture:

Verwandelst Du Dich, liebe Schwägerin,
In eine Autographenjägerin?
So geb ich Dir denn geschrieben,
Dass ich Dich ewig werde lieben.

(Have you, dear sister-in-law, changed your ways—
Have you succumbed to the autograph craze?
Then let me, in writing, assure you
That I shall forever adore you.)

A year or two before Herzl's death I was suddenly summoned to Alt-Aussee to help him take care of my sister—his wife—who was ill at the time. My brother-in-law was desperately worried by her condition; at one point she had sunk so low that, following the advice of our family physician, we decided upon a consultation with a celebrated Viennese professor who was then staying in Aussee. In the professor's opinion the patient's condition was hopeless; and this he told to Theodor Herzl. My brother-in-law was crushed; he looked like a man who had just received his own death warrant, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that he was able to master himself sufficiently to go into the sickroom. Later in the day, when I asked the family physician for instructions, I told him frankly that despite the pronouncement of the specialist I was unable to believe my sister's condition hopeless. Surprisingly enough, he too assured me that he still retained his confidence, and refused to give up the fight. I hastened to my brother-in-law with the news. Never shall I forget the joy, the happiness and the gratitude that flooded his face.



WITH HIS MOTHER, FATHER AND CHILDREN

My sister's condition improved perceptibly from that point: but on the second or third day my brother-in-law fell ill with angina. Retiring into one of the simplest of the smaller rooms, he refused to let anyone nurse or serve him, insisting with a smile that he was not ill, but merely had a sore throat. Neither his wife nor any other member of the immediate family suspected till then that he was already suffering from a serious organic heart disease. To my consternation, however, the family physician now informed me that he was more concerned for Herzl than for his wife. But Herzl himself refused to admit that he was sick, and refused all attention—principally because he feared that any excitement might cause his wife to suffer a relapse. And, fighting the attack with his indomitable energy, he recovered within a few days.

Very few were ever permitted to know the state of Herzl's physical health. His aristocratic bearing demanded that nothing disturb his outward composure. Sympathy would have jarred his nerves and upset his equilibrium. His task demanded that every one should regard him as strong in every way.

Even among his own family, Herzl did not want to thrust his personal difficulties upon those who surrounded him. The problems of his people he grappled with eagerly; his own problems he would turn over to nobody. Some have interpreted this characteristic as egotism; obviously it was pure selflessness.

They Have Prevailed

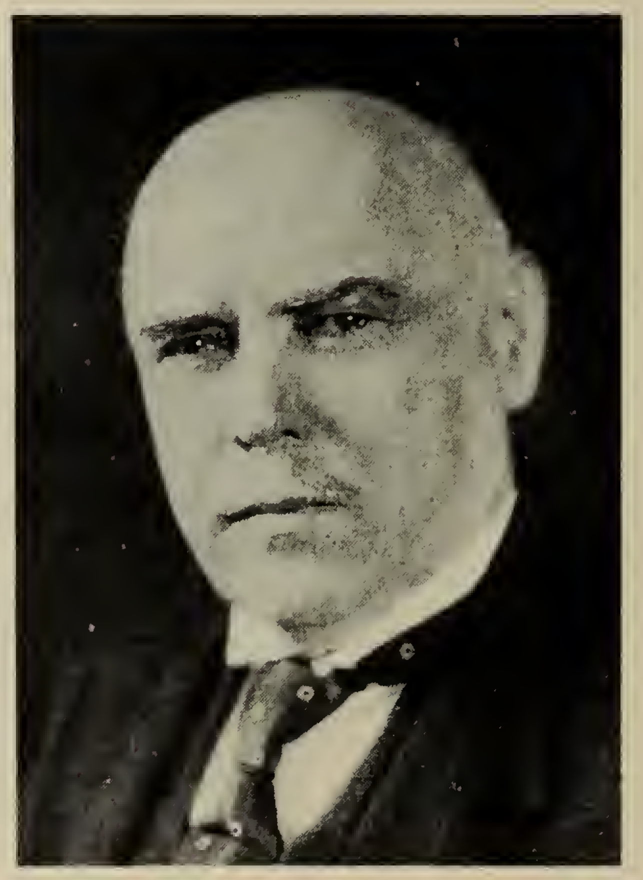
A Tribute to Herzl and Nordau from One Who Was Skeptical

By PROFESSOR LUDWIG STEIN

Ludwig Stein occupies one of the highest places in the German academic world, and among the philosophers of all countries. He is best known for his "History of the Philosophy of Plato," "Introduction to Sociology" and "Evolution and Optimism." The subjoined article is of interest because of the candor of the confession which it carries: a thinker who could not work with Herzl finds after many years that the "poet" was right—and the logician wrong.

MY connection, literary and otherwise, with Theodor Herzl commenced long before his *Judenstaat* was written. As a collaborator of the *Neue Freie Presse*, whose feuilletons were edited by Herzl, I used to write philosophical discussions of timely topics for the Sunday edition. Hence we corresponded frequently, usually with regard to the questions on which the *Neue Freie Presse* wished me to comment. This editorial correspondence did not, however, result in any close personal contact, especially since my occasional visits to Vienna gave me time for only brief conversations with him. Theodor Herzl's clear-cut profile, however, impressed itself indelibly upon my memory. My relationship to Max Nordau, on the other hand, was much more intimate. For I had met him in the home of our common friend, Gustav Karpeles, when I was still a student; and the close friendship between us endured as long as he lived. We sent each other our literary works for many decades, and exchanged numerous letters dealing with philosophical and literary subjects.

On my Oriental tour of September, 1895, whose culminating point was my visit to Palestine, I kept a diary, for the first time in my life; it was intended for the perusal of my father, who not long before had founded the colonization society "Ezra" in Berlin, together with Herr Dorn. In this diary I considered the possibility of extensive colonization of Palestine. It was the sight of the Rothschild colonies near Jaffa, and, especially, of beautiful Rishon le Zion, that impelled me to make these observations. These Jewish farmers in their picturesque costumes delighted me all the more because my maternal ancestry is made up of a family of vine-growers who have been cultivating their own land, near Tokay, for generations.



PROFESSOR LUDWIG STEIN

At that time neither the movement nor even the word Zionism was known in Palestine. In Jaffa and Jerusalem, however, I met some young men—Heinrich Loewe, for example—with whom I discussed, in principle, the possibility of bringing over the excess of Russian-Jewish emigrants to Palestine. I was particularly interested in this question because Baron de Hirsch, who later took over the Rothschild colonies, had, at the suggestion of his co-workers, Professors Sonnenfeld and Meyerson, consulted me in connection with the drawing-up of the charter of the Baron deHirsch Fund, which had in view principally the large stretches of land he had acquired in the Argentine. And since, in addition, my father's Ezra association purposed the establishment of Palestinian colonies, I had sufficient reason to cogitate upon the desirability and practicability of such plans, and to record my conclusions in my diary.

To be honest, I must confess that the opinion I formed was unfavorable. The stony soil, the lack of humus, the dearth of fauna and the scanty flora, seemed to me unsurmountable obstacles to any considerable colonization. The German colonies, and especially those of the Sw bians, made an excellent impression, it is true; but I regarded them as mere oases in the desert. Moreover, the German colonies had a philanthropic hinterland in the mighty German Empire and the self-sacrificing spirit of the religious organizations that supported them. The hybrid Ezra association was not to be compared with these organizations. What was more, the various Christian creeds of the Church of the Redeemer were in constant conflict, and the apparently firmly established power of Sultan Abdul Hamid constituted a challenge to the quarrels and jealousies among the various religions and nationalities of Jerusalem. All these considerations of climate, physical nature and racial psychology resulted in a definitely negative conclusion in my diary. Another point was that only the grapevine could flourish in this sandy soil. This in a country whose dominant faith prohibits the drinking of wine; and that particular sort

The Rise of English Zionism

Herzl's Influence In Its Early Development

By PAUL GOODMAN

In this comprehensive account of the birth of the English Zionist Federation, Mr. Goodman also gives an intimate description of the English leaders with whom Herzl came in contact, and the influence which he exerted over them. Inasmuch as Herzl expected most from England, Mr. Goodman's history of English-Jewish participation in Herzl's work is of particular interest.

IT is commonly known that by a feeling of intuition Theodor Herzl attached the utmost importance to the support desired and expected from England. Due to his Teutonic and Gallic literary associations he hardly realized the mighty power of that Hebrew Book which had so fundamentally affected the mentality of the Anglo-Saxon race; it was instinctively that he turned to England as the country where his views would be best understood. With equal faith—though with less justification—he presumed that it would be the English Jews who would most readily adopt his view on the solution of the Jewish question. The place which he assigned in the *Judenstaat* to the "Society of Jews" and the "Jewish Company"—as he termed these bodies in their English designations—is the more remarkable as the center of gravity of the Jewish problem and the means by which he endeavored to solve it then lay outside the sphere of influence of either Great Britain or British Jewry. Even the disappointments which he suffered in these respects in the course of his practical endeavors did not change his constancy of faith in English and Anglo-Jewish goodwill and support, for the most important financial instruments of his policy—the Jewish Colonial Trust and the Jewish National Fund—were both registered as English limited liability companies.

The main result of his personal efforts for the promotion of his project was, however, the English Zionist Federation, the establishment of which in February, 1899, as the British branch of the international Zionist Organization took place just thirty years ago.

IN England the idea of the restoration of Israel to the Promised Land was not merely a tradition which had found Christian exponents; but the many efforts of Sir Moses Montefiore, a veritable Prince of the Captivity, to promote Jewish colonization in the Holy Land made this project acceptable, even if without practical effect, to English Jews. The English Choveve Zionists were stimulated into activity by the enthusiasm and conviction of Albert Edward Goldsmid, one of the few Jews then holding a commissioned rank in the British Army, and who, like Daniel Deronda, had left his un-Jewish kindred and returned to his people; of Dr. Samuel A. Hirsch, a Jewish scholar of note; of Mr. Joseph Prag, who already then exercised considerable communal influence; of Elim H. d'Avigdor (the father of Mr. O. E. d'Avigdor Goldsmid), one of the heads of the Sephardic Community, a man of enterprise and vision. The organization that was then formed, with its "tents" here and there, obtained the support of men of the type of Samuel Montagu and Joseph Sebag Montefiore, who, on religious and sentimental as well as practical grounds, favored the agricultural settlement of Jews in Palestine. A quarterly, *Palestina*, edited by Dr. Hirsch, kept the English Choveve Zionists informed of local events, and pleaded with sweet reasonableness, if very scanty financial results, for the recognition of its aims. Apart from a modest participation in the purchase of land for the still derelict colony of B'nai Yehudah (on the Eastern side of the Lake of Tiberias), the funds collected were just sufficient for occasional small subventions to some of the Jewish colonies in Palestine that maintained themselves largely through the great-hearted support of Baron Edmond Rothschild.

In its inception, the Choveve Zion movement was undoubtedly nationalist in character—the first object of the Choveve Zion Association having been "to foster the national idea in Israel"—and it undertook "to diffuse the knowledge of Hebrew as a living language." The immigration of a number of Jewish nationalists, which, already in 1887, led to the foundation of the Kadimah in the East End of London, and the impassioned pulpit addresses of the Rev. Chaim Z. Maccoby, the famous *Kamenitzer Maggid*, produced, at the beginning of the '90's, a popular agitation in favor of Jewish nationalism. An attempt to co-ordinate the efforts of the Choveve Zion groups in various countries likewise promised a development on a larger international scale of their colonization work in Palestine. But the heads of the Anglo-Jewish community frowned upon too rash expressions and aspirations that tended to doubt the wisdom of the process of Anglicization as the highest ideal of British Jewry. In the un-Anglicized section, the working classes took with alacrity to the Socialist propaganda—strongly flavored with atheistic anarchism—that was to bring a new world into being. But, as a whole, the community, native and foreign, was too preoccupied with the problems arising out of Jewish congestion in certain quarters in London and the provinces to turn away from local needs to the exclusion of Palestinophile ideas, whose sole merit was their pale, and rather sickly, romanticism.

The dramatic appearance of Dr. Theodor Herzl



THE MACCABÆAN PILGRIMAGE TO PALESTINE IN 1897, ORGANIZED BY HERBERT BENTWICH
1, Herbert Bentwich; 2, Edmond de Menasce; 3, Lewis Levy; 4, Mrs. Rose Frank; 5, Miss Marion Douglas; 6, Dr. Louis Frankel; 7, Samuel Finn; 8, Ash Feldman; 9, David Wolff; 10, Samuel Levy Bensusan; 11, Henry Davis; 12, Miss Salvena Schloss; 13, Mrs. Fannie Muhr; 14, Rev. George Joseph Emanu 15, Isaac Snowman; 16, A. L. Birnstingl; 17, Mrs. Cordelia Birnstingl; 18, Charles Davis; 19, Israel Zangwill; 20, Ernest D. Isaacs; 21, Jussuf (dragomar

created a stir that was, in one form or another, ultimately to dominate the whole current of Anglo-Jewish mentality. His heterodox views on the Jewish position in the world upset the accepted theories of the gradual adaptation of the Jews to their dominant surroundings, while his outspoken comments on the Jewish problem proved not only embarrassing but appeared dangerous to the communal leaders. The Choveve Zionists felt he had disturbed the even tenor of their ways, and came to think that any encouragement of this hitherto unknown man, whose capacity and authority to speak on behalf of the Jewish people was not yet apparent, would lead to the destruction of the still very tender plant of Jewish colonization in Palestine. The Jewish Socialists, hitherto largely in possession of the field of agitation and propaganda among the Jewish masses, found their arguments and promises controverted by the Jewish nationalists who had unexpectedly appeared on the scene, and keenly resented this intrusion into their domain.

As a pronounced Anglophile, Herzl had turned from the highly skeptical circles in which he moved in Austria and France to the British literary and public men whose pro-Zionist sympathies he was inclined to take for granted. He was not much less assured in his own mind that the English Jews presumably possessing the qualities of their non-Jewish neighbors, would understand and support him. H thus turned to Israel Zangwill, then at the crest of hi fame as the author of *The Children of the Ghetto*, and hi first interviews and articles were directed toward th securing of Anglo-Jewish support. In this, however he failed. Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler, Rev. Simeo Singer, Lord Rothschild, Samuel Montagu, Claud Montefiore, Frederick Mocatta, Lucien Wolf, Solomo J. Solomon and other spiritual and communal leader were fascinated by this amazing personality, with hi uncanny and disconcerting self-confidence. But thoug ultimately these men escaped from the charm of hi influence the threads which he spun drew wider circle involuntarily under his spell. There was not onl the official Choveve Zion, but a general stirring o pro-Palestinian sentiment showed itself in the so called Maccabæan Pilgrimage to the Holy Land i 1897. The names of Herbert Bentwich, Israel Zang will, Asher Feldman connote the type of men wh joined in this undertaking. True, it only require Herzl's drawing attention to its significance to evok a hasty disclaimer from its leading spirit. But Herz nevertheless, proceeded with the task to which h had set his hand.

THEODOR HERZL found the response to his call among the masses of his people, in whom the ewish national sentiment was least affected by the nfluences of their alien surroundings. The address o the Maccabæan Society, a body of Jewish intel-ectuals, on November 24, 1895, when he made his lébut in London, was received by men who were keptical, even if interested; but the first public ppearance of Theodor Herzl was before the ghetto 'masses" in Whitechapel, and there he met face to ace those who were henceforth to become his devoted ollowers. His fame among the recent immigrants here who were eagerly awaiting a "deliverer," national, political or economic, had spread by exaggeration stimulated by hopes, and to the observer with an historic sense the acclamation of the man ecalled the raptures which greeted the expectations roused by the Sabbatian movement in the seven-eenth century. The announcement (erroneous in act) that Herzl had "spoken to the Sultan" gave o his personality, too, a Messianic glamor in the yes of the multitude. Indeed, his own rational mind —profoundly moved though it was by the strains of music—had, at least then, none of the religious mysticism that could bring him into spiritual contact with the masses of his people; but the overwhelming eception he received almost frightened him as to the consequences of the action on which he had involuntarily embarked.

First Engraving of J. C. T. Stamp Souvenir Presented to Herzl by the Share Clubs in London

The meeting on the 13th of July, 1896, took place at the Jewish Working Men's Club (now the Monnickendam Room), Great Alie Street, Whitechapel, in a moderately sized hall, which was filled far beyond its capacity, and left thousands clamoring for admission in the street outside. Herzl endeavored to induce Sir Samuel Montagu, the local Member of Parliament and the most powerful personality in Whitechapel, to take the chair; but, though sympathetically inclined, Sir Samuel showed himself too cautious to champion publicly a cause that was, in the eyes of a solid banker, not without dangerous consequences. The chairman of the meeting was Dr. Moses Gaster, the *Haham* of the Sephardic Community, whose association with Jewish colonization in Palestine was of long standing, but whose proclivities to opposition against the official powers that be, both lay and clerical, were hardly the best introduction to those influential quarters whose support Herzl endeavored to win. The audience, however, was spellbound as it listened to the sonorous voice, with the soft Viennese accents of his German, of the man whose very reserve in speech seemed to manifest to his hearers a power restrained by self-control. His presence, that of an Oriental monarch of majestic stature, with large eyes and black flowing beard (that, in its style, came soon to be known in Jewish parlance as the *Herzlbart*), in keeping with the manly grace of an ideal Jewish cast of features, was enhanced by an exceptional elegance of bearing and attire. His audience was not only transported in its momentary enthusiasm, but he had, as in a flash, won their hearts.

Among those who acclaimed the new leader of his people was Mr. E. Ish Kishor (who later transferred his Zionist energies to America), and I recollect how, at the conclusion of the meeting, Herzl turned to Ish Kishor and expressed appreciation of the appealing homeliness of the Yiddish tongue in which he had addressed the gathering. This attitude on the part of Herzl indicated how already then (in 1896!) his Jewish sympathies had embraced even the language of the Jewish masses, which otherwise probably sounded to him somewhat uncouth in its pronunciation and diction.

The public appearance of Dr. Herzl in the East End of London set the teeming Jewish population in a state of ferment. The Apocalyptic vision of a Jewish State about to be established by a fiat of the Sultan of Turkey, which recalled the emotions that swayed the Jews in the troubled times of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, now took hold of the Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe who, in the drab lanes, courts and alleys of Whitechapel, were yearning in vain for that social and economic happiness which they had expected to find in the promised land of freedom. But, though very articulate, there was almost nothing they apparently

could do to influence those circles of *la haute finance* in the Anglo-Jewish community to whom Herzl had turned for political and financial support. The struggle between the immigrants, with their nationalist instincts, and the Anglicized natives was, on this and on other vital aspects of Jewish life, to be drawn out and, at times, painful, in the process of evolution that took place during the ensuing three decades.

The results of the popular support which Dr. Herzl received were thus slow in their fruition. For although Hermann Landau, Oswald John Simon and Joseph Prag were among those on the platform at the Jewish Working Men's Club who "welcomed" Herzl, their utterances were intended as brakes on the effusive popular enthusiasm which then manifested itself. Indeed, a few days before, Chief Rabbi Dr. Hermann Adler, speaking at the annual meeting of the Anglo-Jewish Association, with the authority attaching to his office and to his high personal standing in the community, uttered the deliberate warning that "we must be on our guard against fostering fantastic and visionary ideas about the reestablishment of a Jewish State and a Jewish nation."

3, Hare Court,
Temple, E.C.

London July 11 '04

Dear Mrs. Herzl,

I know words are only an empty consolation but it may be a little comfort to you & to Hans (as to Pauline & Trude), to hear of the thousands & thousands of Jews I saw weeping at the Mass Meeting here; weeping for your sake but also for their own sake & for the great Cause which your dear husband brought into the world.

Our love for him & our devotion will be everlasting. The name you & your children bear will always be the most honoured in the Jewish nation & we should all esteem it a privilege to contribute to the welfare of those dear to you.

Most sincerely yours,
Israel Zangwill.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL'S MESSAGE TO FRAU HERZL AFTER A HERZL MEMORIAL MEETING IN LONDON

THE first test in the growing struggle manifested itself when the First Zionist Congress held at Basle on August 29-31, 1897, was attended (even if only in an informal way, for there had been no elections) by Israel Zangwill (who, in 1922, twenty-five years afterwards, told me that the chapter *Dreamers in Congress* in his *Dreamers of the Ghetto* reproduced faithfully his permanent impressions of that Congress), Joseph Cowen, S. B. Rubenstein, E. Ish Kishor, A. Ginsberg (Liverpool), S. Massel (Manchester) and Jacob de Haas, who was not only the English Secretary of the Congress but delivered an interesting report on the situation in England.

The Choveve Zion Association in London, like the Choveve Zionists elsewhere, was little disposed to give way to the new course of events. It was actually in possession of the field. But the progress of Herzl's ideas, and notably the preparations for the Zionist Congress, were disquieting to those who had hitherto not taken his writings and speeches too seriously from the practical point of view. In its issue of June, 1897, *Palestina*, the organ of the Choveve Zion, appeared with an exceptionally lengthy leader which began with the following significant sentence: "The smooth working of the colonization of Palestine by Jews has encountered a difficulty which is as unexpected as it is embarrassing." The accentuation of the difficulties placed by the Turkish authorities in the way of the Jewish immigration to Palestine gave the cue to the view or suggestion that Herzl's action had been responsible, and was, therefore, endangering the whole Jewish work in that country. But the extent to which the following of Theodor Herzl had, nevertheless, gained strength was strikingly manifested at the Conference which took place at the Clerkenwell Town Hall, London, on March 6, 1898. It was the decisive juncture in the progress of "political" Zionism under Dr. Herzl's leadership, and heralded the formation of the English Zionist Federation.

The so-called "Clerkenwell Conference" was presided over by Col. Goldsmid, the Chief of the Choveve Zion Association, with Mr. Joseph Prag as Senior

Vice-Chief and Mr. Herbert Bentwich as Vice-Chief and Chairman of the Conference Committee. It was attended by delegates from 27 "tents" of the Choveve Zion Association, and from 15 non-affiliated Zionist societies. For the understanding of the differences that arose at the Conference and which ultimately led to a definite cleavage, it is useful to recall here that the official objects of the Choveve Zion Association in England were as follows: (1) To foster the national idea in Israel; (2) to promote the colonization of Palestine and neighboring territories by Jews by establishing new colonies and assisting those already established; (3) to diffuse the knowledge of Hebrew as a living language; (4) to further the moral, intellectual and material status of Israel.

Inherent though these objects were in the Basle Program, which had just become the platform of political Zionism, the open demand for the establishment of an *öffentlich-rechtlich gesicherte Heimstätte* in Palestine gave to the Zionist Movement an *élan* which carried the masses off their feet, while the personality of Theodor Herzl and his diplomatic activities raised the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine from a romantic idea fostered by some well-meaning, if influential, persons into the realm of international interest and practical politics.

Dr. Herzl was not only in close touch with his friends at the Conference, but attached the very greatest importance to its decisions. David Wolffsohn, of Cologne, attended as representative of the Actions Committee of the Zionist Organization.

The resolutions that were adopted were not so much the results of a reconciliation as the beginning of a conflict between the opposing forces. In its number of December, 1897, *Palestina* had a leading article on *The Zionite (sic) Congress* which gave an indication of the disappointment and bitterness felt in official Choveve Zion circles. Herzl's "Vienna Committee," as the Actions Committee of the recently founded Zionist Organization came to be called by them, was looked upon with open hostility. On the other hand, a function took place at the Trocadero Restaurant on January 22, 1899, with Sir Francis A. Montefiore in the chair, to inaugurate the formation of the English Zionist Federation; and on February 22nd a meeting was held there of delegates forming the Central Committee of the newly formed body. The breach between the followers of Herzl and the Choveve Zion was complete, it being reported that Col. Goldsmid had "declined to recede from the position he took up of refusing to assist in the work of the Committee" (appointed at the Clerkenwell Conference), and that he and Mr. Prag had resigned.

THE leaders of the new organization set about to arouse the whole of the Anglo-Jewish community in a drastic manner, not only by mass meetings in London but by those Zionist demonstrations in the provinces which since then became a regular feature of Anglo-Jewish public life. The leaders proceeded in February, 1899, to the great Jewish centers in Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds, where the Zionist speakers received enthusiastic receptions. In particular, the championship by a man of such personal charm and recognized public distinction as Sir Francis Montefiore, a great-nephew of Sir Moses Montefiore, heartened the Zionists in their uphill effort to win the confidence of the community.

Nevertheless these so-called political Zionists had, in an ever growing measure, the community against them. There were frequent clashes between them and the Choveve Zionists, who continued to hold occasional public meetings, and who looked forward to countering the Zionist Congress with an international gathering of leading Choveve Zionists, which was held in Paris; and it was put forward in the press that Baron Edmond Rothschild and the Jewish Colonization Association, with its many millions, were ready to embark on a large-scale colonization in Palestine.

THESE forms of opposition proved to be of serious consequence when the establishment of the Jewish Colonial Trust, as the financial instrument of the Zionist Organization, was launched and finally incorporated on March 20, 1899, under the English Companies Acts, with its office in London. Dr. Herzl, who instinctively shrank from being involved in financial operations, but who had to take a direct and decisive part in the formation of the Trust, had to rely to a great extent on his English supporters. Not only the anti-Zionists, but even bankers like Sir Samuel Montagu and Isaac Seligman, who were assumed to be sympathetically inclined to the Zionists, looked severely askance at the attempt to bring about the restoration of Israel to the Holy Land by means of a limited liability company.

It needed but the mere suggestion of the possibility of the failure of a "Jewish" bank (with the religious connotation it conveyed to many) to give to the first material undertaking of the Zionists a reputation which, as events well proved, was happily unfounded. As a result, the well-to-do members of the Anglo-Jewish community kept almost entirely aloof, and, as is known, it required a heart-breaking effort on the part of Herzl and his financial associates to scrape together the amount required before the bank could proceed to allotment.

It was, however, this very difficulty which gave to the democratic Zionist element the impetus for a special rally of its forces. In May, 1900, there was established, under the chairmanship of Mr. James H. Loewe, the Secretary of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Jewish Colonial Trust Share Club No. 1, which was to find enthusiastic supporters all over the country. Special stamps were issued, together with a pass-book into which they were inserted, and as soon as the pass-book was filled up it was exchanged by the club for a fully paid Jewish Colonial Trust share.

The foundation of the Jewish Colonial Trust and of its Share Clubs brought to the fore Mr. Joseph Cowen and the Rev. J. K. Goldbloom, two English Zionists who have since played a most important part in the fortunes of Zionism generally. Mr. Cowen was one of the first Jews of English birth to join the movement, and he remained one of Herzl's most trusted friends. In his reminiscences of Herzl which he wrote in *Zionism: Problems and Views*, published by me in 1916, Mr. Cowen says: "Never have I known him free from thinking, and thinking of the movement of which he was the master and the slave."

IT will be found that from the very beginning the English Zionists furnished the movement with a number of able and devoted men to some of whom Herzl appreciatively referred in his *Diaries* in June, 1901, as "*Meine braven englischen Jungens.*" The number of delegates to the Congress increased. At the Second Congress Dr. Gaster was elected a Vice-President and Mr. Herbert Bentwich one of the assessors. London was chosen as the seat of the newly appointed Commission for Colonization. Sir Francis Montefiore made his appearance at the Third Congress, with much effect. The place held by England in Herzl's scheme of things may be judged by the fact that in 1900 the Fourth Congress was held in London. It was the first time that crowds of *Ostjuden*—who had come to London not as humble immigrants but as guests, delegates to a Congress—were to be seen in their native garb in fashionable Regent Street, where Queen's Hall, the locale of the Congress, was situated.

The Congress itself was an event of the highest importance to the cause of Zionism in England. It gave to the English Federation a status in the international movement which, as a small group out of the current of Jewish life, it had not enjoyed hitherto. But although the effect on Anglo-Jewry did not come up to expectations and the Congress proved a merely transient incident in the vast metropolis, it may not unreasonably be assumed that the governing factors in English public life took cognizance of this very remarkable and unprecedented manifestation of the Jewish desire to return to the ancient land of Jewish prophecy. The religious aspect—traditionally favorable to Jewish aspirations—appealed to the great masses of the British nation, who saw in the Zionist endeavor a sign of the fulfillment of Holy Scripture. The dissemination of the view in influential quarters that the return of the Jews to Palestine would help solve a problem which had begun to arouse a certain amount of feeling was of great value. Actually the anti-alien agitation was—owing to the congestion by Jewish immigrants of certain urban quarters, especially in the East End of London—directed against the Jews. The generous sentiments that had been evoked in England by the Jewish persecutions in Russia lost their virtue when immigrants from Eastern Europe created new problems in their land of refuge. By 1902 it was found necessary by the British Government to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the subject of alien immigration, Lord Rothschild being one of its members.

Herzl eagerly took advantage of this opportunity to bring to the attention of the non-Jewish world the need for drastic action in dealing with the Jewish Question; and his evidence before the London Commission on Alien Immigration was unquestionably designed to bring home to the English Government, at least, the purpose of the Zionist movement, its attempt to solve an international problem which had overflowed even into England. Joseph Chamberlain, who was then the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the protagonist of a new British imperialism, found in Theodor Herzl a man after his own heart—bold in conception, with a lofty social outlook—whose effort to settle his people in one of the waste places of the earth and to endow them with free institutions inevitably appealed to this statesman who was to inaugurate the form of government that now distinguishes the British Commonwealth of Nations. As the hope of the possibility of an autonomous settlement of Jews in Palestine under Turkish suzerainty disappeared Zionism definitely passed into the British sphere of influence.

THE clash between the upholders of the Uganda project and its opponents aroused bitter polemics in England as elsewhere. While in Western Europe Herzl's *Realpolitik* to meet the clamant needs of the time met with general understanding and sympathy, Dr. M. Gaster took up an attitude of hostility which assumed a personal point against Herzl, and J. K. Goldbloom, though one of Herzl's most fervent admirers, led the East End Zionists against the Ugandists. The supporters of Herzl, with Messrs. Cowen and Greenberg at their head, received powerful aid from Israel Zangwill, whose advocacy of a "territorial" interpretation of the Zionist program was later to bring a schism in the Zionist ranks. But although Zionism still had its head office in Vienna, its intellectual center in Germany and its man-power in Russia, England assumed a political importance which was to lead to far-reaching results, foreseen and publicly enunciated by Herzl at the London Congress in 1900.

The announcement of Theodor Herzl's sudden death in 1904, in the throes of the Uganda dispute, found the English Zionists in a state of turmoil and disorganization. For a brief hour or two David Wolffsohn and Israel Zangwill—then standing in the two opposing camps—met on the same platform at the Premierland, a dingy hall in Whitechapel, to proclaim the greatness of Theodor Herzl and to lament the dead leader; then these two devoted disciples of their master parted to pursue with grim determination their antagonistic policies.

The Real Herzl

An Appreciation of the Man As He Is Revealed in His Diaries

By J. HODESS



As Editor of "The New Judæa," Mr. Hodess has come into close contact with the various forces released by Herzl for the reestablishment of the Jewish Homeland. In the following article Mr. Hodess, who himself met Herzl when a youth, analyzes the character of the founder of the Zionist movement as revealed in his "Diaries." Less a tribute to a legendary figure than an estimate of a dynamic personality, this appreciation gives the reader a rapid summary of the various moods that dominate the "Diaries."

As a history of political Zionism the Herzl *Diaries* will in due course acquire an enduring place in the history of mankind. They constitute a record, as complete as it is authentic, of the creation of the Zionist movement. The record is made by the creator himself, who discloses the actual process of his creation. The maker of history takes us into his workshop, so to speak, and shows us what he is doing and how he is doing it. The process is, on the whole, very thrilling, with but few wearisome moments. As a history these memoirs are incomparable. We see the inception of an inner life, the birth of an idea in 1895; we see the idea evolving, taking form and shape, and gradually developing into one of the most powerful forces of modern times.

But though the *Diaries* have the distinction of the most authentic history of political Zionism, documented and annotated by the maker of that history, they will stand out and live for another reason. They show not only what Herzl did but what he was. This, his most intimate work, gives us a full-size portrait of the greatest figure Jewish life saw for many a century. Posterity is always curious about the man behind the work, and in these records it will find that

"All the man's life stands there revealed as though
It hung graven on a tablet in a shrine."

We see the figure suddenly appear on the Jewish scene, washed up from an alien shore: for nine years we are in the presence of the heroic—in the Carlylean sense—accompanying that turbulent spirit to different lands; we see him driven by a divine unrest, a majestic symbol of the Galuth moving from city to city, from palaces to chancelries, calling on the conscience of mankind, disturbing the peace of the self-satisfied

Jews, and compelling the attention of civilization; drafting plans, formulating schemes, forming financial instruments, negotiating with high and low, fighting fanatics and battling with base indifference. He overwhelms us with his dynamic force, stirs our soul with his colossal energy of thought and intensity of feeling; impresses us with his self-assurance and worldly knowledge, amazes us with his regard for external punctiliousness and systematic details. His stoical courage leaves us breathless. A noble soul, shy and sensitive, but urged by an irresistible will, an active mind, and aided by a shrewd, discerning intelligence. Throughout the years, in all moods, under the most trying conditions and irritating circumstances, his serenity and indefinable charm do not desert him. A polished manner conceals a revolutionary spirit; elegance of style often cloaks bitterness. And almost as suddenly as he appears, still fascinating and compelling recognition, he fades away.

THE self-revealing character of the *Diaries* unquestionably tends to correct the view of the "legendary Herzl." The true Herzl as he shows himself in his almost daily records is quite different, infinitely greater, because more human, than the sublimized, rarefied, Apollo-like, almost ethereal Herzl. Those who fell under the magic charm of this dazzling personality in their extreme youth have had a distorted view of Herzl. Men cling to their notions of their heroes, even though they may pride themselves on being hero-worshipers no longer; particularly so if they have had the great privilege of not only having beheld the hero but of having spoken to him, as I did when I was a youngster. Imagine the effect on an impressionable youth of Apollo's approaching him, addressing him by his name and stretching out his hand in farewell! What could the boy do but kiss it? And though this act of homage received a gentle rebuke, or perhaps because it did, the picturesque, legendary figure sank deep into the youth's memory: A Herzl so perfect that had he lived longer his sublime soul might have become entangled in cobwebs, and his majestic figure might have been obliged to stoop to methods not befitting his dignity.

AS a realist, Herzl cherishes no illusions. He knows his own limitations, the weakness of his position, that he is a leader of an army of "beggars and cranks," as a mocking spirit had told him. He has no resources, no men, no money; he is "like the soldiers of the French Revolution, obliged to take the field without boots or stockings." His only stronghold is the justice of his case. And he enters the field as courageously as if he had behind him unlimited resources. His reserve power is faith—faith in the justice of his cause, in the urgency of his mission. And he feels, too, that he can inspire the same conviction and faith in others.

He has moods of despondency, fits of depression; on occasions the thought of withdrawing from leadership assails him with real force. Small wonder. He does not always get the right support from even his immediate *entourage*. But his courage and willpower save him and the cause. He sees the difficulties as clearly as any one. He does not "abandon himself to illusion," but has sufficient mastery over his mind and feelings not to give way to disillusion. When his hopes for practical success are beginning to wane he consoles himself by writing *Altneuland*, remarking: "My life is now no romance, so let this romance be my life."



A CONTEMPORARY CARTOON DESCRIBING HERZL'S AIM IN POETIC FORM

At times some of his friends are not very helpful. Prof. Kellner objects to the movement as too noisy. Herzl resents this, and retorts: "World-history is nothing but noise of arms and of progressive ideas." Nordau, always an iconoclast, roars his criticism both directly and indirectly. Herzl is annoyed, and at a luncheon party he delicately hints that "when a man is on a tight rope he expects forbearance from his friends, and not that they make him giddy." Nordau is piqued at first, but hastens to promise a mattress (to be used in case of a tumble). His traveling companions in Palestine lose heart as soon as anything is amiss. Herzl encourages them and imparts the secret of his leadership. He is neither more clever nor better than any of them, he tells them; but he is undaunted. He does not lose courage

under the most difficult circumstances: indeed, his courage increases.

But there is another secret which he imparts in one of his entries. He attributes his effectiveness as a leader to the fact that, whatever his shortcomings, he has always been "of pure heart, and entirely selfless in regard to the Zionist cause"; and this, coming from one who was far from simple, is touching by its almost naïve simplicity. For none but the very low ever doubted that he was the soul of disinterestedness, "the *Shammes* of the cause," as he referred to himself in his appeal to Vambery to help him with the Sultan.

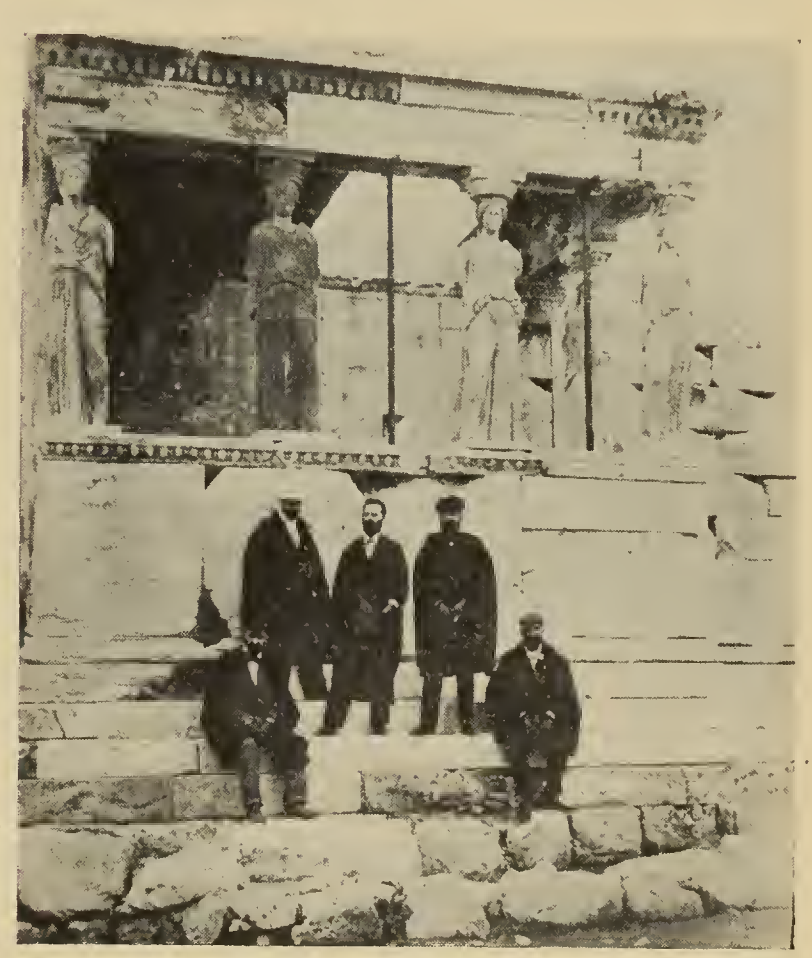
RARELY do we find a man living and working with such passionate vigor and haste. Inwardly he is bursting with impatience; but outwardly he gives the impression of calm serenity, of almost frozen dignity. Even in the *Diaries*—where he, the embodiment of discretion, permits himself to be indiscreet—even in these intimate entries he does not always convey his turbulent spirit. He finds his record defective because "the stormy element is wanting in its intimate make-up, which I could portray immediately, but later forget. What is lifeless is equally missing from it, and the despondent moods of that phase would be even more interesting to the future reader."

"The stormy element" is not, in fact, always missing in his self-revelations; but if it is not conveyed in full measure it is not only for lack of time but also for other reasons. It is due partly, perhaps, to his innate grace and literary elegance, and partly to his self-consciousness. For, as he confesses, he is "too complicated a man to keep a naïve diary, even though I try not to pose. I always feel posterity glancing over my shoulder." Such self-consciousness was bound to have the effect of keeping his tempestuous temperament under rigorous check. A terrific inward conflict between the surging emotions of the impatient artist and the will of the leader, the leader whose sense of responsibility is developed in an extraordinary degree.

But despite this mastery over his emotion, his impatience finds expression at every turn when he forgets this "glance of posterity." He resents empty talk. He is weary of attending "those public threshings of straw every afternoon," as he calls his conferences with his colleagues. The carping comments and criticisms are "really enough to give me a fit." He is nervous lest some of his colleagues commit indiscretions and thus make a laughing-stock of the movement; the stir and fuss at receptions in his honor are disagreeable to him. All tributes, expressions of admiration and devotion "vanish beneath me as though I were mounting up in a balloon." It is action he wants. Deeds without delay: the release of the collective Jewish energy. To achieve things, and achieve them without loss of time. In his fight against time he is ready to sacrifice years of his life, if necessary. In his eagerness for the rapid establishment of the Jewish Colonial Trust upon which he bases so much hope for his ultimate plans, he is ready to agree to any terms, as Faust agreed with the Devil. "To any one who would promise me the success of the subscription (bank) I should give ten years of my life." The worry and anxiety probably cost him more than ten years.

He has attacks of cerebral anemia; his consciousness at such moments "grows dim, and his perceptions vague." He is ordered to rest, but is unable to do so; a stream of worries is before him, and he has no time to rest. He has sleepless nights and restless days, but complains to no one. He only appeals to his colleagues not to make matters more difficult at critical times, when a cool head is essential. He begs them not to upset him. "I must not be afraid." And when he receives a letter from Nordau, who writes that the "abysmal rascality of your opponents increases my admiration for your sacrifices. You are stronger and better than I," he is touched; it "relieves me of many a black mood against him."

He has, indeed, had such moods against many lesser people than Nordau. He is very caustic in some of his observations. And with few exceptions, as experience has shown, he is singularly right in his judgments—however severe. As a leader and a man of action he has to make up his mind quickly in the choice of his men, without the advantage of closer acquaintance. The result is not always satisfactory. He suffers disappointments. But most of those who are "written off" get their deserts. He has too strong a sense of fairness not to recognize when he is



HERZL AND THE DELEGATION TO THE KAISER

in the wrong, and to say so unequivocally. He respects honest opponents, and feels contempt for the Western type of Jewish spiritual leader, the type "whose sole thought is of the fees they will get at the weddings of rich Jews." He dislikes the indifferent, the type of Jew who prides himself on being neutral. "He is mistaken," he writes to a leading Jew, "who thinks that he does not commit himself by holding aloof. There are ideas from which one cannot escape by saying yes, no, or nothing at all."

HE is intensely proud, proud enough not to kiss the hand of the Pope when received by His Holiness; but as the *Shammes* of the cause, he is ready to do things beneath him, even to suffer humiliation, if it is personal, without recoiling to the cause; to negotiate with brigands and blackguards, to talk to blackmailers and blockheads. This sometimes makes him underrate his own work; he thinks that the work he does might be achieved by almost any one. When in this mood he becomes jealous of his creative art As an author, as a playwright, he says, he is held as nothing, though he feels he is "a writer of great capacity who did not yield his full measure." Instead he "is world-famous as a propagandist, though he accomplished next to nothing in the intellectual field, but merely displayed a second-rate political skill, attainable by any horse-caper in a matter which is perfectly intelligible to all but blockheads."

But this is a flitting mood. He is, in fact, quite conscious of his enormous effort, and is rather annoyed that his skill in negotiating with powers and princes is belittled in some quarters. He has come into contact with Jewish analytical *bitul*, which, of course, can only wound his susceptibilities. He has other troubles—his position on the *Neue Freie Presse*. No one knows, he writes in 1901, "how I suffered during my six years on that paper, having to tremble for the bread and butter of my children." And always there is the worry of the raising of means for propaganda work. He has assistants—excellent men. "But those who have the best intentions are either too poor or too busy, or else unsuited." When he imagines that his efforts are not adequately appraised he trusts that history will do him justice:

"When everything will appear small and as a matter of course, perhaps a just historian will consider it a certain achievement that a Jewish journalist, without means, at a time of the lowest abasement of the Jewish people and of the most disgusting anti-Semitism, should have converted a rag into a flag, and a degraded mob into a people which gathered proudly round the flag."

IT was scarcely necessary to wait for the appreciation and judgment of history. Herzl knew that the Jewish people adored him; he felt that "if he should die soon" the whole Jewish people would mourn. But adoration was of no importance to him. He wanted action. He could not be moved by manifestations of enthusiasm which did not yield practical results. While his inventive mind flashed with ideas which he hastened to materialize, his supporters, as it appeared to him, watched him with not much more than affectionate curiosity. He explored every possibility, and availed himself of every opportunity to advance his cause. "As a love-sick youth who sees his beloved under every feminine hat, so everything is to me a stimulus, a reminder of my idea." Small wonder that he was dissatisfied with others. Yet the response of the people could not correspond to his high expectations. As a matter of fact, he understood this.



HERZL IN HIS LAST DAYS
Left to right: Bodenheimer, Herzl, Nordau and Wolffsohn

In these memoirs we see the master weaver; we see him creating an entity out of isolated, unutilized threads. We see the imaginative and creative statesman. "There are dreamers," he writes to Cecil Rhodes, "who glance across great gulfs of time; but they are apt to lack practical sense. Then again there are practical men, like the trust magnates of America, but they lack political vision." From the exponent of a Jewish State in some indefinite land he develops into a Lover of Zion. He has definite plans, well-defined ideas, a complete program. He has clear views on how to realize the program. As a humanitarian he wants to change modern conditions of life. As a moralist he has the highest ethical standards. But as a statesman, as a man of action, he has to compromise with life, which is stronger than any fixed standard.

"Do you think," he says to Bacher, "I anticipate a strictly programmatic fulfilment of my idea? I have no illusion concerning the *plus petitio* which my claim involves." But he had no doubt about the ultimate triumph of the central idea, or of the justice of the cause and the vital necessity of the movement.

"What if I had allowed people to dissuade me? The world would be poorer by an idea, and Judaism by this great movement."

Can one say less or need one say more?

Fundamentals of the Judenstaat

Herzl's Conception of the Jewish State

By DR. S. BERNSTEIN

Pointing out that there is a misconception with regard to the intent and content of the "Judenstaat," which launched Herzl on his Zionist work, Dr. Bernstein, Editor of "Dos Yiddishe Folk" and Zionist philosopher, analyzes the purpose of Herzl's volume and its relation to the growth and ideal of Zionism.

THERE is a widespread but erroneous impression that Theodor Herzl's *Judenstaat* represents the program of Zionism. Erroneous because it was in Basle that this program received its clear formulation. Herzl's book is more: it is the spirit, the very essence, so to speak, of Zionism. He himself characterized his work most expressively: "I want this book to have wings."

In the *Judenstaat* there is an element that seems paradoxical, a touch of divine comedy; for fundamentally it is by no means a specifically Jewish book. It is universal in its basis. In its ideas and intellectual tendencies it seems to spring from considerations of general humanity as much as from the Jewish point of view. Throughout the volume the author is impelled equally by the idea of saving the wretched, helpless Jewish masses and by the ideal of the seven-hour working-day, whose realization in the Jewish State is to present a compelling example to the entire world. Actually, however, no conflict exists here. In Herzl's mind Jewry and humanity are so closely bound together that it is difficult to distinguish the line of differentiation. As a matter of fact, the *Judenstaat* was not written for Jews alone, but was designated by its author as an appeal to all mankind. Indeed, Herzl stresses, with some sarcasm, that his plan concerns not the Jewish, but the Christian question.

In reading a book written thirty years ago one usually expects to find evidences of an antiquated train of thought. It is, therefore, amazing how little of this we see in the *Judenstaat*, in how modern a manner it discusses problems of the present and the future, questions as timely now as three decades ago. At that time these ideas must have been regarded as fantastic dreams and Utopian projects; but to us to-day they appear as living and unquestionable realities. When Herzl wrote down his hopes for a "charter" they appeared even more remote than a dream, and no one had the faintest notion that only twenty years later the Balfour Declaration would be proclaimed and accepted by all civilized nations. As we read that the existence of the new state must be guaranteed by the "Council of the Nations" we marvel at the naïve flight of the author's fancy. How could he ever imagine such a thing? To-day, of course, the League of Nations is an accepted fact. Again, economists and sociologists ridiculed Herzl's idea of transplanting hundreds of thousands of Jews within a short period, and demonstrated clearly that such a plan is technically and physically infeasible. Yet only a short time ago, in 1925, almost a million and a half Greeks were transplanted from Anatolia to Greece within less than two years, with the aid of the League of Nations—an analogue to Herzl's "fantastic dream."

Herzl's plan for the Jewish State is by no means conceived from a narrow nationalistic and exclusively Jewish point of view. In it he is concerned not so much with Palestine as with the entire Orient. It is characteristic of Herzl's entire attitude that the geographic concept of Palestine plays a relatively subordinate part. The element of Jewish patriotism is merely incidental with him. His primary interest is in the opening of the continent of Asia to Western civilization. "The problem of Asia," he writes, "is becoming more serious every day; and I fear it may lead to a bloody conflict. It is in the interests of the civilized nations to create, as soon as possible, a cultural center on the road to Asia, to serve the cause of Occidental civilization. This center is Palestine; and the civilized nation that is ready to sacrifice its possessions and its blood for this cause is the Jewish people. The political-minded must see this immediately. Such a procedure would help the Jews, and further the interests of all humanity." This is the essential ideology of the *Judenstaat*. But the Jews are not the only civilized people to feel drawn to the East. "England, the great country of freedom, whose possessions touch on every sea, will understand our aspirations. She will broaden the scope of the Zionist ideal—of that we may rest assured."

THE *Judenstaat* has frequently been criticized for its mistaken conception of Jewish nationalism. Herzl bases his idea of the Jewish State chiefly upon the *Judennot* (wretched condition of the Jews), and, therefore, upon anti-Semitism. Many Zionists, indeed, regard this as the weakest point of his ideology. Actually, however, it is a very strong point. To Herzl the *Judennot* is the theoretic fundament of his plan; he confesses this quite frankly. As a matter of fact, he considers it the most powerful and, perhaps, the only motive that may impel the Jewish masses to attempt a "flight to the heights." "To achieve anything at all," he remarks, "is difficult for those who are not a little desperate." And he answers with a decided affirmative the question of whether the Jews are capable of taking up the colossal

difficulties which such a plan must involve. "Their wretched condition is the miraculous motive power that urges the Jews forward into their new country, that will force them to the greatest sacrifices." Nor can any one deny that the course of Jewish life in the last ten years has proved the correctness of this view.

Although the *Judenstaat* is no longer the official program of the Zionist Organization—the First Congress having incorporated in its program the demand for an internationally recognized and secured Homeland in Palestine—its spirit and basic ideology nonetheless guided the entire Zionist policy of Herzl. The idea about which the *Judenstaat* centers is that of evolution. Under the conditions and forms prevailing in Jewry to-day it is difficult to think seriously of the realization of that plan; but the development of Jewish life will inevitably lead to this final goal. The work we have undertaken is the work of generations, and will demand the preparation of a sympathetic attitude on the part of the entire public, Jewish and non-Jewish; and it is in the formation of this public opinion that we find the principal task of Zionism.

HERZL'S flexibility in his negotiations and in his pursuit of his ultimate aim was a curious phenomenon. It is unusual to find a party leader so extremely willing and ready to compromise and reach an agreement on even the most important points. To him the slogan of the *Judenstaat* was the secret of his success, the cry that aroused the Jewish masses; yet the moment he realized that a change of tactics would further his cause, he yielded, and accepted the formula of the "Homeland." Seeing that the question of language and culture would cause some serious conflicts among the Zionists, he had the courage to set the entire problem aside, and to declare it of no great significance. "The Jews of the new country will discover for themselves which language is most useful and convenient for them." Indeed, in his readiness for compromise he even went so far as to give up, for a time, the entire idea of Palestine. In order to open the way for negotiations and to obtain the political co-operation of England he agreed to the Uganda plan.

It seems strange that a leader of this sort was able to maintain his position at all, not to mention the fact that he was regarded as the absolute ruler of the popular will. But this was because every one received and felt the clearly defined, invincible will power which Herzl brought into Jewish life. Every one knew that he was not actually deviating from the idea of Palestine by a hair's breadth, or for a single moment. Every one knew that his policy of compromise was directed toward Palestine. He was merely waiting for more favorable conditions; all this was but a device to ease the long, thorny road of the preparation of public opinion. Some day, however, it would develop that all these devious paths led to Jerusalem. Never did Herzl relinquish the idea of the *Judenstaat;* but he felt that it was immaterial how this goal was reached.

Herzl's willingness to compromise was due to the fact that fundamentally his was the nature of a fighter. To Herzl's mind struggle was necessary to the life of society; but it was not to be engaged in unless all other means had failed, unless there was no other way out, unless there was no more hope for friendly co-operation. For a long time he patiently carried on an intensive campaign of propaganda in order to win over the Jewish religious communities of Western Europe. But only after he saw that his peaceful efforts would never succeed, and after the leaders of these congregations, at a moment they considered favorable to their purposes, suddenly launched an attack against Zionism, did he come out with his battle-cry: "Conquer the communities!"

He never relinquished his hopes of convincing and winning over his opponents. And when he failed, he was quick to blame himself. "I probably did not know how to handle him," he writes in his diary after his unsuccessful attempt to interest Baron de Hirsch in his idea for Palestine. On another occasion he says: "Some day they will all be our friends, the Rothschilds, the Montagus and the rest. The only question is how to manage them, how to present the cause to them." In order to facilitate the reaching of an agreement, and to prevent the possibility of opposition, he was willing to resort to the most extreme measures. Thus he strictly forbade any sort of connection between the "land policy" and the Zionist movement. Zionism, he believed, must be the bond that unites all the Jews, and must avoid any course that might lead to differences. The Jewish "oligarchy," again, felt offended when the Zionists designated its activities as "philanthropy"; whereupon Herzl came and explained the unreasonableness of such an attitude toward philanthropic work: "When philanthropy is extended to an entire people it becomes a policy."

He was ready to make any sacrifice that might bring him the co-operation of the great Jewish financiers, whose help he considered absolutely indispensable to the success of his enterprise; indeed, he even offered the leadership of the entire movement to the Rothschilds and Montagus. He knew that all these compromises would inevitably lead to the final victory of Zionism. There is no need to fear for the future of a movement based not upon a whim, but upon the solid ground of a scientific conception of reality, of actual life. "Its success must be as certain as the delivery of a letter through the mails." The only question remaining is that of when the time for action shall come; the Jewish policy must take this great moment into account, and must prepare for it. It is in this work of preparation that Herzl saw the secret of Jewish political development and statesmanship; like a scarlet thread this concept runs through his entire work. Herzl's *Judenstaat* describes the art of Jewish statesmanship for all time.

Herzl and Ahad Ha-am

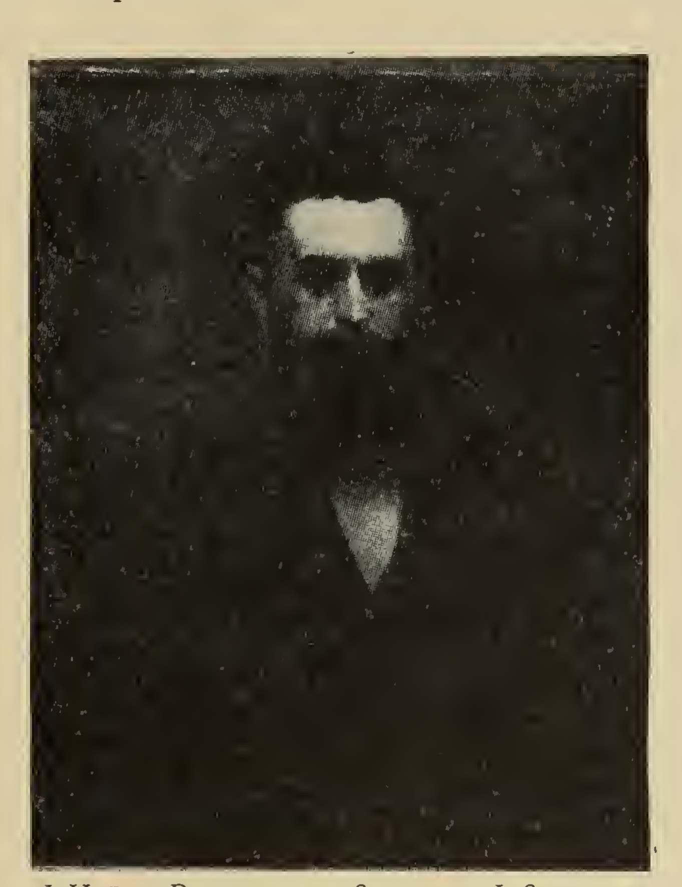
Their Personal Relations and their Philosophies of Zionism

By LEON SIMON

The author of this article has, more than any other person, made the ideas and work of Ahad Ha-am available to the English-speaking world, with his translation and editing of the most important of the philosopher's essays. Mr. Simon here describes the differences between Herzl and Ahad Ha-am and explains their origin.

HERZL and Ahad Ha-am stand out for us as two antithetic figures, as the protagonists of two opposed conceptions of Zionism, which are labeled (none too happily) "political" and "cultural." They belonged to the same generation—Ahad Ha-am was the older by but four years—though in a sense they moved in different worlds. They were active simultaneously in the same movement, and each of them has contributed richly to that composite growth which to-day is called Zionism. What was their relation to one another? What was Herzl to Ahad Ha-am, and what was Ahad Ha-am to Herzl?

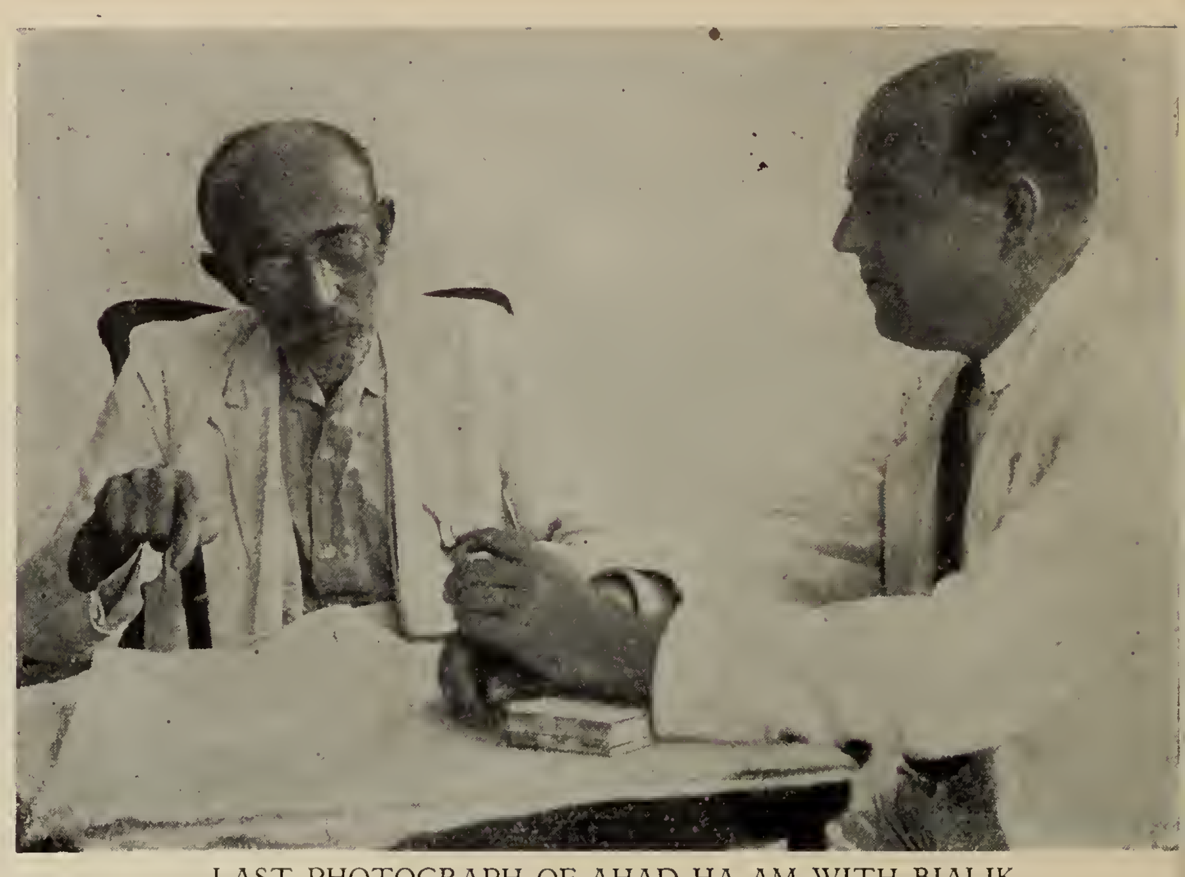
The answer to the first half of this question is not difficult to find. For a period of some seven years, from the first Zionist Congress till Herzl's death, the founder of political Zionism and his movement were—it may be said almost without exaggeration—Ahad Ha-am's main interest in life. In 1897, when the first Congress was held, Ahad Ha-am was editor of the Hebrew monthly *Hashiloach*, and was bending his energies to the difficult task of producing a Hebrew review of European standard. His reputation and his influence among the nationalist elements in Russian Jewry stood high. He had been for years an important member of the Central Committee of the Choveve Zion, and his criticism of its earlier colonization methods had borne good fruit. In a series of masterly essays he had developed his historico-philosophical conception of Jewish nationalism, with its basic idea of Palestine as the "spiritual center" of the scattered Jewish people. As head of the B'nai Moshe he had profoundly influenced many of those who were active in the national work. Unfitted for actual leadership by his critical habit of mind, his dislike of compromise and his lack of the qualities which draw the multitude, he was yet, by virtue alike of his intellectual and of his moral eminence, a spiritual force of the first magnitude in Russo-Jewish life. And now, like a bolt from the blue, came this new-fangled Western Zionism, with its emphasis on anti-Semitism as the sole cause of the Jewish trouble and on political action as the sole remedy; with its disregard of the deeper and more positive elements in Jewish nationalism; with its initial unwillingness even to be tied down to Palestine as the only possible seat of the "home of refuge"; with its inability to understand the underlying ideals of Chibath Zion, and its ill-concealed contempt for the "petty colonization" to which Ahad Ha-am and his associates had given so much thought and effort for years past. And at the first blast of the trumpet his friends and former followers capitulated almost to a man. Carried off their feet by the grandiose sweep of Herzl's ideas, they failed to discern the contradiction between the new conception of Zionism and that to which they had hitherto given—or seemed to give—allegiance. They flocked to Herzl's banner, content if they could succeed in getting him to graft Palestine on to a plan of mass emigration which had essentially no connection with Palestine, and for the realization of which, indeed, Palestine was about the least suitable country in the world.



A HERZL PORTRAIT BY SOLOMON J. SOLOMON IN THE BEZALEL MUSEUM

Inevitably, then, Ahad Ha-am adopted an attitude of hostility to the new movement, the importance of which he recognized from the start. The desertion of his friends no doubt lent a touch of bitterness to his criticisms; but in substance those criticisms would have been the same even if the Russian Choveve Zionists had remained true to their earlier ideals. The new Zionism was, as has been said, something opposed in its fundamental conceptions to Zionism as Ahad Ha-am understood it. Its avowed aim —the "Jewish State," or rather "State of Jews"—was, indeed, one which he had no difficulty in accepting; but as to why the State was necessary, what function it was to fulfil for the Jewish people, by what kind of effort its establishment was to be brought about, and within what period of time its accom-

plishment might be hoped for—on all these questions, theoretical and practical, there was profound disagreement. Moreover, the methods of the new leader were such as to evoke Ahad Ha-am's most hearty disapproval. The head and front of the offense are summed up in the single word "diplomacy." Herzl had, of course, an extremely difficult part to play. On the one hand, he had to hold together the "Western" and the "Eastern" elements in his organization, despite their very wide differences of mentality and outlook. On the other hand, he could not afford to let the flame of enthusiasm die down, and in the absence of any real progress towards the attainment of his wider aims—which indeed, on a sober view of the facts, was obviously out of the question in the early years of the movement—was compelled to keep hope alive by vague phrases and discreet silences. Thus both in his internal and in his external policy he was driven to play the diplomat. He could not give an unequivocal answer to awkward questions like that of the attitude of his movement to "Jewish culture," or that of the actual likelihood of his being able to settle masses of Jews in Palestine within a few years; and he dared not admit the financial weakness of his organization to those with whom he was negotiating for political concessions. Now Ahad Ha-am loved clarity of ideas as much as he hated concealment of unpleasant facts. From both points of view "diplomacy" was his *bête noire*. Small wonder, then, that Herzl's conduct of affairs, no less than the basic ideas of the new Zionism, met with his uncompromising opposition. In the columns of *Hashiloach* he waged warfare almost single-handed against the Zionism of Vienna and all its ways. He endeavored to convince the erstwhile adherents of Chibath Zion that in succumbing to the superficial attractions of political Zionism they were in fact exchanging substance for shadow; that Herzl's hope of a speedy "ingathering of the exiles" could not possibly be fulfilled; that the way of national redemption could lie only along the line of national education and the gradual creation of a worthy miniature of Hebrew life in Palestine. His words were not without effect. But it was only later, and after the premature death of Herzl, that the influence of "cultural" Zionism began to make itself seriously felt in Herzl's organization.


LAST PHOTOGRAPH OF AHAD HA-AM WITH BIALIK

Throughout his campaign against Herzl, Ahad Ha-am was scrupulously careful to avoid anything in the nature of personal attack, which was utterly abhorrent to him. His published *Letters* show how he refused to countenance any attempt to make capital out of the weak spots in Herzl's personal armor, and what pains he took to avoid lending any color to the suggestion, which did not fail to make itself heard, that jealousy was at the back of his opposition. Despite the touch of bitterness noted above, his criticism of Herzl is strictly objective. Indeed, Herzl, the man, scarcely appears in Ahad Ha-am's pages at all. He is concerned solely with Herzl as the founder and leader of the political Zionist movement—a fact which finds characteristic expression in his referring to Herzl as "the Zionist leader" more often than by name.

This objectivity is nowhere better exemplified than in what he wrote of Herzl after Herzl's death. It so happened that Herzl died at the moment when Ahad Ha-am was ready to publish the third volume of his collected essays, which consisted to a large extent of articles written during the preceding seven years in criticism of Herzl and his policies. Ahad Ha-am, anxious to avoid the suspicion of having chosen just that moment to republish these articles, held back the printing in order to add a new Introduction, which ends with this striking passage:

"The actual, living Herzl said and did much that was open to question; and those who did not wilfully blind themselves were bound sometimes to oppose him most strenuously, and even to complain of some of the methods which he adopted. But the ideal figure of Herzl, which is being created before our eyes in the popular mind—what a splendid vision it will be, and how potent its influence to cleanse that very mind of the taint of *galuth*, to awaken it to a sense of national self-respect, and to whet its desire for a real national life! The first-fruits of that influence are already visible, before the month of mourning is over: we hear already, for instance, a suggestion that a memorial to his name should take the form of a special national fund for national education in Palestine. That is but one example. And, of course, imagination has not yet finished

its work. The creation is not yet perfected. As time goes on, and the ideal picture of the national hero attains its perfect form, he will perhaps become for our day what the old national heroes were for our ancestors in days gone by: the people will make him the embodiment of its own national ideal, in all its radiance and purity, and will derive from him strength and courage to struggle onward indefatigably along the hard road of its history.

"Herzl gave us the Congress, the Organization, the Bank, the National Fund. Whether these are to be reckoned great achievements we cannot yet know. All depends on whether they endure and in what form they continue to exist. But one thing Herzl gave us involuntarily, which is perhaps greater than all that he did of set purpose. He gave us *himself*, to be the theme of our Hymn of Revival, a theme which imagination can take and adorn with all the attributes needed to make of him a Hebrew national hero, embodying our national aspirations *in their true form.*"

AHAD HA-AM, then, despite his consistent and uncompromising opposition to Herzl, was fully aware that in Herzl the Jewish people had once again a national hero, whose appearance on the stage of Jewish history was destined to be a fact of supreme and abiding significance. Had Herzl, on his side, any appreciation of the greatness of Ahad Ha-am, or any inkling of his significance for Jewish history?

The answer to this question seems to be in the negative. As far at least as can be gathered from his published utterances, the founder of political Zionism took no account whatever of the philosopher of Chibath Zion. Neither in the *Tagebücher* nor in the *Zionistische Schriften* is there, so far as I am aware, a single mention of Ahad Ha-am. In the *Tagebücher* Herzl records his impressions of hundreds of men, great and small, but not of the Russian Jew to whom many of his own adherents owed so much. In the *Schriften* we find him engaging in controversy, written or spoken, with Rabbis and assimilationists and anti-Semites, but never with the Hebrew-writing Zionist who was his most profound and trenchant critic, and who was destined in after years to be regarded, along with himself, as one of the makers of modern Zionism. Sometimes his omission to mention Ahad Ha-am seems almost pointed, as where (in an article on Zionism published in the *North American Review* in 1899) he mentions Hess, Pinsker, Rulf and Birnbaum, but not Ahad Ha-am, as having helped to foster the national spirit among the younger generation of Jews in Eastern Europe.

Of course, Herzl was unable to read Ahad Ha-am's essays in the original, and there were at that time no translations. But that alone is not sufficient to account for Herzl's silence. If he himself did not read Ahad Ha-am's criticisms, some of his close associates did: as witness, for example, the famous *Altneuland* incident. Besides, the two men were not strangers. Both by reputation and personally, Ahad Ha-am was known to Herzl. Before the First Congress Herzl sent him a special invitation to be present, and a year later he wrote to him again, asking him to become a member of a Commission which was to prepare the program of the Second Congress—an invitation which Ahad Ha-am was unable to accept, to his keen regret. Again, they had two conversations at Basle in 1897, one before and one after the Congress proceedings. We have Ahad Ha-am's record of these conversations in one of his published *Letters*. On the first occasion Ahad Ha-am asked Herzl about a National Fund which he contemplated establishing, and was surprised at the light-hearted way in which Herzl seemed disposed to rush into this enterprise without adequate preparation. On the second occasion he asked Dr. Herzl on what he based his hopes of a concession from Turkey, and got a "diplomatic" answer which convinced him that there was nothing to tell. It would have been interesting and valuable to have a record of these conversations from the other party also; but apparently they left no impression on Herzl's mind, or he did not think his interlocutor of sufficient importance to make them worth noting in his diary.

Herzl's attitude, or rather lack of an attitude, toward Ahad Ha-am illustrates at once his strength and his weakness. Completely dominated by the sublime idea which had taken hold of him, and serenely convinced of the rightness of his cause and of its ultimate triumph, he had neither the time nor the will to turn aside in order to study a fundamentally different conception of Jewish nationalism, which in any case it would have been very difficult for a man of his temperament and antecedents to appreciate. His limited understanding of the real complexities of the Jewish problem was perhaps an inevitable concomitant of that magnificent concentration and singleness of purpose to which his mastery of men was so largely due. On the other hand, he might have been saved from many mistakes and much weariness of soul if it had been possible for him to get into close touch with Ahad Ha-am, and through him to gain a clearer insight into the spiritual forces which were at the back of his movement.

However firmly we may believe in free will, we all recognize about the events of history, as we look back on them, a certain inevitability. Herzl could not have been other than he was, nor have ended otherwise than he did. Indeed, we may even feel, looking back, that the tragic end was the fitting consummation of his meteoric Jewish career. As Ahad Ha-am wrote to a friend when the news of Herzl's death reached him: "He was fortunate alike in his life and in his death. He had in truth come to the end; he had done all that he could do, and he died at the right moment. His career and his activities during the last seven years had the character of a romantic tale; and if some great writer had written such a tale, he, too, would have made his hero die after the Sixth Congress."

To Ahad Ha-am himself it was given to live many years longer, and to watch his own ideas permeating the very organization whose founder had been the target of his attacks. The true relation between the two men is expressed neither in the criticism of the one nor in the indifference of the other, but in this indissoluble fusion of the fruits of their work for the common cause.

Three Types of Herzlian Opponents

The Theologian, the Philanthropist, the Eastern Jew

By DR. SHALOM SPIEGEL

The greatest opposition which Herzl met was not so much in the outside world as among the Jews themselves. In this article, Dr. Spiegel describes the various types of differences with which Herzl had to contend. Dr. Spiegel takes as his illustrations of these types: Rabbi Güdemann, Baron de Hirsch and Ahad Ha-am.

HERO-WORSHIP is the expression of a child-like quality of the spirit, of longing for the world of fairy-tales. There we have sharp contrasts to delight young hearts: Elves and witches, dwarfs and giants, heroes who are virtue personified and villains who are the incarnation of evil. In real life, of course, it is different—a fact which it is easier to admit than to keep in mind when questions of partisanship arise. For it is difficult for us to be just toward the antagonists of our beloved leader.

Herzl himself did not succeed always. But his was the right of the innovator to be unjust toward the old. Perhaps no one can become a seer without a certain degree of blindness. We of to-day can honor Herzl more, can better understand his personal greatness and the all-transcending grandeur of his cause, if we endeavor to discover the most valuable points made by those who opposed him and his idea. Here we are concerned with more than historical objectivity—which is questionable in itself—or with the personal rehabilitation of various figures of the immediate past. His opponents typify eternal tendencies of the Jewish soul, the knowledge of which is valuable for us to-day.

I

THE THEOLOGIAN

"*But to be a Jew—professionally, so to speak—and, at the same time, to combat the Jewish people—this is something against which one's sense of justice must revolt.*"

—Theodor Herzl.

IN the delirious days when the idea of the Jewish State flashed upon him its sudden illumination Herzl wrote a letter to the Chief Rabbi of Vienna, Dr. Moritz Güdemann, asking him to meet him for a highly important discussion of the Jewish problem. The meeting was to take place at Caux, above Territet on Lake Geneva, in order to take the Chief Rabbi out of his ordinary environment and to bring him into the free atmosphere of the mountains. For there every-day life shrinks into insignificance and one's mood becomes sufficiently calm and serious for consideration of a serious question.

That was the time when Herzl was desperately in need of encouragement. Even his most intimate friend sincerely believed he had gone mad. If Herzl should fail to get a single adherent of standing his friend's view might be correct; but if some prominent Jew were won over to his idea its truth would be established. He who stands alone is a madman; but if another follows him he becomes a prophet.

It is doubtful whether Herzl fully appreciated Güdemann's position as a scholar, or knew of the significance of his research on the history of Occidental Jewish education. Herzl regarded it as sufficient that he was the Chief Rabbi of the Austrian capital. He was the most important Jewish spiritual leader Herzl knew; and this was why he asked Güdemann to bring a prominent secular leader of Jewry to the conference.

Güdemann found it impossible to accept Herzl's first invitation; but their meeting finally took place on August 18, 1895, in a Jewish inn at Munich. Herzl knew that his most difficult task would be to bring about the gradual transition in the minds of his two guests from their ordinary points of view to his daring ideology. For this transition had to avoid the suddenness that might cause them to feel transposed into an unreal world.

Güdemann was won for the cause. He compared Herzl to Moses, called him the chosen of the Lord. Yet he confessed quite frankly: "If you are right, all the views I have held collapse. I hope you are right."

But once removed from the fascination of Herzl's presence he became less enthusiastic. Again and again Herzl found it necessary to renew his interest. When the *Judenstaat* was published Herzl asked the Chief Rabbi to speak on it in his temple. But Güdemann refused, insisting that such a thing was impossible. For by this time he had learned that the Jewish lords of the financial world—and, therefore, of the synagogue—objected to the Jewish State.

Güdemann's pamphlet against Zionism, entitled *Nationaljudentum*, was published in 1897, probably, as Herzl suspected, at the wish of the upper classes of Viennese Jewry. Herzl was right, too, in his point that this booklet maintained a tone of cowardly vagueness. This, however, was due not only to Güdemann's desire to spare his friend; there was also the fact that he himself no longer believed fully in the doctrine to which he had adhered until his meeting with Herzl. Not that the Rabbi had been converted; but the national feeling dormant in his soul had been aroused. In all the deciding moments of his career, indeed, he had revealed himself as a true Jew. And his defection from Herzl was merely the expression of the internal conflict between the faithful

Jew and the employe of the wealthiest Jewish congregation of Austria.

But the point of view he defended in his pamphlet has persisted, particularly among the Reform Jews. Jewish nationalism, it was contended, is a product of anti-Semitism only; the nationalistic Jews were indignant at the sudden questioning of their right of domicile in the lands where they had lived for centuries. Anti-Semitism, it seemed to them, accused them of being aliens in the countries to which they had so long rendered faithful patriotic service. Many of them then took up the challenge and, with feelings of mingled pride and bitterness, retired into the tent of Jewish nationalism.

Güdemann, however—in opposition to the great historian Mommsen, who considers the national and religious elements of Judaism identical—attempted to prove with many learned quotations that the Jewish religion is definitely antinational. The form of the Jewish kingdom—the most natural manifestation of national consciousness seeking development in the sense of temporal power—was opposed by the prophets with an almost unveiled hostility unparalleled in history. The selection of Israel as the Chosen People despite—or, perhaps, because of—its lack of numbers could have meaning only if it would renounce that which other nations regard as their pride. The Hebrew language does not even have adequate terms for the expression of political concepts. Surely, said he, this is no accident, but may well be considered a silent protest against the dominance of such concepts in antiquity. In its diaspora the people of Israel is not a degeneration of the old political entity, but the realization of the dream of the prophets. The "People of God," scattered and expatriate, has the mission of turning the eyes of the nations to the "Kingdom of God." The term "Jewish nationalism" is self-contradictory; for it is the mission of Jewry not to support the centrifugal force of nationalist dreams, but to work toward the unification of all men in a single all-comprehensive family.

The colonization of the Holy Land will always be regarded as a pious, meritorious, historically justified act. But the reorientation of the course of Jewish development in the direction of nationalism can be described only with the derisory phrase of Horace: *desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.*

Perhaps the best formulation of Güdemann's point of view was the one he put forward at his first meeting with Herzl: "I always thought that we are not a nation in the territorial sense, but more: that it is our historic mission to spread the universal ideal among the peoples." And Herzl's answer at that time was better than his reply to Güdemann's pamphlet. In Munich he said that nothing hinders us from furthering the universal ideal from the vantage-point of our own country, but that for this purpose not all of us need remain among the peoples who hate and despise us.

Güdemann was permitted to see the triumphal progress of the Zionist idea. During the War it was he who, old and weary, advised the calling of Z. H. Chajes to Vienna. I believe he even lived to see this new Zionist Chief Rabbi discuss the British-proclaimed Homeland in Palestine with the last of the Hapsburg emperors. This Rabbi asked for the support of the Austrian government not as a petitioner, but as a statesman. And the fact that the Rabbi and the statesman were no longer mutually exclusive, as Güdemann had thought, but could be united in one personality—this was Herzl's achievement.

II

THE PHILANTHROPIST

"*It is quite true that these international financiers are rich enough to expedite our work; but they have not enough wealth to prevent it. They may be able to buy everything—but they can never buy the bit of metal that constitutes the pen of an independent writer.*"
—Theodor Herzl.

HERZL'S relations with Baron Maurice de Hirsch have been discussed often and in great detail; their interesting correspondence was published in Herzl's *Zionistische Schriften* even before his *Diaries* appeared. Here, therefore, it will receive but brief mention.

Baron de Hirsch was the first to whom Herzl turned. This most prominent of Jewish financiers and philanthropists had a genius for affairs on a large scale, and had brought the wildest of schemes to a successful consummation. Indeed, before his Turkish enterprise—the construction of the railway through the Balkans to Constantinople—the banking world had considered him rather visionary and reckless. It was only after, contrary to the predictions of experts, he had scored his great triumph that he became the leading captain of European industry. Then he remembered his duty toward the impoverished Jews of the East and embarked upon his gigantic colonization project. Romantically he believed that the Jews—originally an agricultural and pastoral people—should till the soil once more. Only the example of industrious Jewish peasants, he thought, could overcome anti-Semitism.

Herzl considered philanthropy the wrong course; but the Baron's broad view of affairs attracted him. "For we two are spirits who mark the beginning of a new era—he is the financial, I am the intellectual *condottiere*. If this man will go with me we can really revolutionize the life of our day." Herzl, moreover, wished to test the truth of his idea by the effect it would have upon de Hirsch. Would he understand?

In his conversation with the Baron—a conversation which, as we can see from Herzl's record, flowed with veritably artistic smoothness—he made it his first point to stress the impossibility of warding off anti-Semitism. The development of Jewish farmers would have no effect. Thus one of the hotbeds of German anti-Semitism was the province of Hesse, where the

Jews were engaged in agriculture on a small scale. Furthermore, philanthropy begets mendicancy. No people practises as much philanthropy or has as many beggars as the Jews. Manifestly the two must be connected. To help a nation one must employ not philanthropic, but political means alone. No one is sufficiently wealthy to transport all the masses. Mass migration can result only if the idea of it is implanted in the popular mind, if the individual is moved to self-help.

Baron de Hirsch listened for a long time until, at a characteristic thought, he interrupted vehemently. Herzl was speaking of the raising of the moral plane of the masses, lest there be a repetition of the unpleasant circumstances whose development among the emigrants to Argentina both deplored. "No!" de Hirsch cried, explosively. "I have no desire whatever to raise their moral plane. All our misfortunes are due to the desire of the Jews to rise too high. We have too many intellectuals. It is my intention to restrain Jewish ambition, to prevent the Jews from making such rapid progress. For this is the source of all the hatred."

Only then did Herzl see how reactionary was the policy pursued by this noblest of the wealthy Jews. Only now did Herzl understand fully the difference between him and the Baron: It had nothing to do with their attitude toward the Jewish people, but was simply a difference in ethical point of view. Herzl believed it the duty of civilization to provide a sphere of free activity for surplus talent. This was the fundamental idea behind the Jewish State—to provide a productive outlet for the unutilized energies of the people in a new commonwealth. Baron de Hirsch, however, meant to dull the intelligence of the Jews through agriculture. To Herzl this seemed not only impossible, but a crime against civilization.

But when the Baron died soon after, before the publication of the *Judenstaat*, Herzl wrote in his diary: "To-day our cause has suffered a loss. He was the only one of the wealthy Jews who was willing to do something worth while for the poor. Perhaps I did not approach him in the right way."

III

THE EASTERN JEW

"*The Russian Jews possess that inner unity which most European Jews have lost. They are not tortured by the idea of assimilation; their nature is simple and sound, sincere and genuine. . . . I cannot help remembering how, at the beginning, I was often told that I would win only the Russian Jews for my cause. If some one were to say this to me to-day, I would answer: 'That would be quite sufficient!'*"

—Theodor Herzl.

ASHER GINZBERG—or, to use his better-known pseudonym, Ahad Ha-am—bitterly opposed Herzl during his lifetime. It was only after Herzl's death that he uttered his famous words on the Herzl legend—probably the best that have ever been written on the leader of the Jews. While his quarrel with Herzl was always objective and impersonal—as would be expected from a thinker of Ahad Ha-am's caliber—it was nonetheless slightly tinged with personal resentment. His pedantic circumspection made Ahad Ha-am too accurate and cautious for public life. Although he was forced to take over the presidency of the B'nai Moshe, he was no leader of the masses. And then came an assimilated Jew from the West who succeeded in winning all hearts, even causing desertion from the ranks of the B'nai Moshe, and this more through his personal magnetism than through his idea—with which the Choveve Zion had long been familiar.

Thus it is difficult for us to-day to follow Ahad Ha-am in every point of his criticism of political Zionism. Often it seems petty, based on insignificant details. But it were unjust not to recognize, behind this criticism, the great super-personal cause for which Ahad Ha-am was fighting. It was his idea, indeed, that made a true national renaissance out of Herzl's Zionism.

When Ahad Ha-am, writing on the First Congress, said that it was the prophet, not the diplomat, who would bring salvation to Israel he was reproached with unworldliness, with failure to understand modern affairs of state. To-day, when Herzl's *Diaries* have revealed the adventurous, fantastic quality of Herzl's dreams, we may be permitted another view. The rapidity of the complete solution of the Jewish problem which political Zionism promised appeared both impossible and an evidence of insincerity to Ahad Ha-am. To him this haste was a confession of weakness, of lack of faith and of insufficient moral strength for the further endurance of misery. Despite the illusion of actual political endeavor he saw clearly the Messianic elements of Herzl's attitude, and knew well the deplorable after-effects of such Messianic ecstasies: desperation which might even culminate in conversion.

To keep silent was impossible for him; for he believed in Zion, hoped to find in it the solution of the problem of Judaism—though not of the Jews—and wanted to create there the spiritual center of scattered Jewry.

Hence his bitter opposition which Herzl's enthusiastic followers received so indignantly, and which led even Nordau to revile Ahad Ha-am. His other objections to Herzl's doctrine, resulting as they do from his fundamental stand, are well known. The Eastern Jews correctly regarded the negative explanation of the inextinguishable individuality of Jewry as inadequate: For according to Herzl we are a nation only because bound by a common enemy.

But when—after the upheaval of the World War and the investment of Herzl's visionary political methods with reality—Ahad Ha-am was enabled to spend the last years of his life in the first Jewish city of Palestine, he may have wondered whether the seed sown by Herzl might not bear more fruit than the one he planted himself.

The Epochal Herzl

His Influence Upon the Jews' Attitude to Themselves

By DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

THE measure of Herzl's importance may be gauged by the truth that in times of doubt those of us who are not wholly reft of humility are still moved to ask: What would Herzl have thought or done at such a time as this—under these circumstances? The truth is that the factors of Jewish life have become so changed within the generation and because of the impact of Herzl that the very essence of the Jewish problem is altered. We live in a world basically different from that of Herzl, for we are part of a Jewish life which Herzl remade.

In the pre-Herzlian days there were Jewish questions without end; but save for few and faint intimations nothing seemed farther from the Jewish consciousness than that these questions could or would be answered by Jews. Problems were put to Jews, and generally, if not always, it was assumed that the answers too would be offered to Jews. Questions might be raised by Jews—though, for the most part so-called Jewish questions were addressed to Jews and, by whomsoever raised, were answered by non-Jews.

Renan with Gallic urbanity, Treitschke with un-Gallic crudity, Pobiedonostzeff with ecclesiastical fury and Plehve with Czaristic ruthlessness had alike set up Jewish questions and given their un-Jewish and anti-Jewish answers. And Jews listened and obeyed! After questions were asked and answered Jews sought to avert the worst effects of the decisions, to postpone the execution of edicts. But one question Jews asked not—what can *we* do? That was the tragic status of Jews—and something more and worse!

It might have been imagined that Jews, though dwelling in various lands, would recognize the underlying identity of the problems flung at rather than propounded to them, and proceed to act on that recognition. But the lamentable and uncancelable truth was and is that—except for the organized practices or spasmodic devices of *Hofjudentum*—Jews met not nor took counsel together. It is not easy to assess the motives of an earlier generation. But it is not unfair to hold that the pre-Herzlian Jews took it for granted that they could not be the masters of their collective fate, and thus renounced the captaincy of their Jewish soul. So fearful were they of lending color to the absurd charge of Jewish internationalism and of seeming to be what atomic Jews can never be—united—that they clung to the substance of separateness and acted together partially and haltingly, always in mitigation of wrongs done, in alleviation of wounds inflicted.


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At times it is averred that Zionism is the offspring of anti-Semitism, growing out of a sense of despair over never-ceasing anti-Semitic attacks. The fact is that anti-Semitism is the parent of pre-Zionist measures of relief and redress. Under Herzl Zionism became the protest of the Jewish people against the inadequacy of all measures of palliation touching the fate visited upon rather than achieved by the Jew.

Few men may truly be said to be epochal. Within our millenary of Jewish history not more than four men may so be styled—Maimonides, Spinoza, Mendelssohn, Herzl. And one of the four is epoch-making in relation not to Jewish life, but to the things that concern the liberation of the mind. Herzl was epochal. Those of us who have lived alike in the pre-Herzlian and the post-Herzlian epochs know that this man's coming upon the Jewish scene brought another era into being. No epochal figure stands alone; other and lesser figures prepare the way. In the case of Herzl even the minor figures were of major import—Hess and Kalisher, Smolenskin and Gordon. No epochal figure stands alone in yet another respect; for he has successors. Thus there were and are men who continue the work of Herzl. But still he stands alone, unique, epochal, Sinaitic insofar as he reshaped the life of his people from the heights.

One cannot touch upon all the factors in the scene to which he stood central. The world without was hostile, not uniformly but generally. Its hostility took many forms—all of them embittering, impoverishing, degrading. In the presence of all the facts of malice in the world without Jews had become irresolute, enduring all things not with high charity but with low and hopeless resignation.

In Palestine, which is now

the supreme fact of Jewish life, an apparently unshatterable tradition of European balances perpetuated the *status quo* of Turkish sovereignty which, though not hostile to the Jew in the Christian sense, had long brought low the land of the people's past. An index of the incalculable hurt which had been done to Jews everywhere by the ill-will of the world without was to be found in the 'seventies and 'eighties before Herzl's day—in the attitude of the so-called cultivated and enlightened Jews toward anti-Semitism of one kind or another. In order to controvert anti-Semitism Jews had set out verbally to deny the truth of their Semitism. And such denial, half-imbecile and half-insolent, was infinitely more provocative than any decent and courageous attitude would have been. After Herzl's day Jews no longer denied their Semitism or concealed their Jewishness. To the former they assented as a fact; the latter they affirmed as their distinction.

It is not too much to say that when Herzl first loomed upon the Jewish horizon the weak-kneed, the morally inept and infirm were the masters of Jewish life. I wish that the annals of Herzl's quest of help from the mighty among the then non-Zionists might be blotted out from the Jewish story. In a sense the day-books of Herzl are far more damning against his people than the volumes of Chesterton or Belloc or Drumont or de la Garde. For they tell of an utter incapacity for rising to the vision of Herzl on the part of those who had seized the reins of Jewish power here and in the lands of Europe. He could not dethrone the self-enslaved; he could not dislodge the mean-hearted. But after Herzl had lived and led the finer and the braver elements of Jewish life came into their own and gained a hearing for factors other than those of mere possession in the leadership of Israel.

What greater thing can a man do than come upon his own soul, than find himself and make valid his self-sovereignty? There is something more: the contagiousness of the example of him who so liberates his own soul as to strike the shackles from others that these too may be made free. Herzl did even more. He came upon Jews disunited, fearful, hopeless. He spoke, he wrought, he led. And when he left the Jews to whom he had proclaimed a message of deliverance they once again—and, as we believe, for ever—became a people.

A Colleague's Reminiscence

By MARIA STONA

The author of this reminiscence is a well-known author, living in Czechoslovakia now, who collaborated with Herzl on the "Neue Freie Presse."

MEETINGS with Theodor Herzl were always festive occasions for me, whether I saw him at some social function or visited him at home or in his office. His powerful, noble personality, the forcefulness of his ideas always affected me strangely and profoundly. He was always surrounded by an aura of gentle melancholy. Never did I see him laugh heartily. Concern over his lofty purpose determined his life more and more; the decision he had formed possessed his heart to an ever increasing degree.

When I visited him in the editorial rooms—where he usually stayed during the noon-hour in order to enjoy perfect, undisturbed quiet—I found him more and more involved in his ambitious ideas as the years went by. One day he described to me the street railways of Zion, its means of communication, its lighting facilities and other modern improvements; and he added, dreamily: "I hope that some day my son will live happily in this new city that will be built on the soundest of foundations . . . "

Herzl did not feel at home in Vienna; nor had he become completely acclimated in Paris. Yet he often longed for the great city on the Seine. His true home was in the realm of art; but the hours he was able to devote to it were few and far between. When time permitted, however, he wrote scintillating tales or those marvelous, brilliantly witty feuilletons that always sounded some minor chord of melancholy—the sadness which, like a presentiment of ill, ever clung to Herzl. It almost seemed as if, despite his great triumphs, he felt himself marked out for disaster. It was in such a mood that he once told me, as he gazed out the window of his office upon the cold, bare walls opposite: "My experience is that of one who has been sitting quietly and happily at his desk when suddenly, startled by a din in the street, he looks out his window and sees a group of men engaged in violent dispute. He leaves his room and goes down to these people in order to restore peace. But they take him away with them, and do not let him return to his own work. He must help them. My dearest wish is to finish the task I have set myself and to return to my study, my dreams, my books—my own work."

This joy, this return to himself was denied him. He fell in the battle into which he had gone voluntarily, for idealistic reasons, as a conciliator and a constructive force—he died before he had reached his goal. A modern Moses, he was permitted to see the land of his dreams only from a distance.

After A Hundred Years

A Posthumously Published Work of the Young Poet Phineas Algumi, Written Shortly Before His Death, Which Occurred in 2004 at Theodoria, a Colony of Intellectuals on Mount Carmel

Translated from the Hebrew

By DR. A. CORALNIK

THE keeping of a diary has never been compatible with my temperament. The few things I have set down have been merely attempts to clarify and explain myself to others—or, more correctly perhaps, to my other self.

And if to-day I write in the rhapsodic, lyrical style of a diarist it is because I have had this day a remarkable spiritual experience. I was in Jerusalem, where the centenary of Theodor Herzl was being commemorated.

The burning rays of the merciless sun exhausted me. It was a beautiful occasion, attended by countless thousands. The entire country had sent in delegations; every city, every colony, no matter how tiny, was represented. Choruses of men and choruses of children, clothed in white, flower-wreathed. Never before have I seen so colorful a multitude. Most impressive of all was the procession of "Pilgrims" from all lands. But the supremely inspiring moment began with a bugle-call by the herald in the Tower of David: A white-clad young girl from Benares unveiled, with trembling hand, the statue of Herzl; another bugle-call, and a song resounded from all the hill-tops about Jerusalem. The first note floated down from the Mount of Olives, where the statue stood—and the music seemed to find an echo in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. A rapturous, heart-swelling antiphony.

Then the addresses, three in number. The first speaker was a Frenchman, the leader of the "Pilgrims," that powerful international organization of seekers; after him came the head of the Pan-Russian League; and, finally, the representative of the World Cultural League, a German. They spoke in the universal language, which, though young in years, (it was officially recognized as the international language only thirty years ago, I believe), has already borne such fine fruit. And all these speeches professed faith in Jerusalem, expressed gratitude to the man whose image stood there in black Tiberian basalt, who had restored fertility to the land. The President of Judæa responded with thanks in the name of history.

But enough of all that. I am too weary. I can no longer remember and recount. This has always been my experience after such solemn occasions. Events now gone forever flow about me, rush about me, plead for resurrection. The past demands to be restored to the present—and I am so helpless.

Now I sit once more in my silent, solitary chamber—my cloister cell, as it would have been called in olden times. For so profoundly have I been imbued with the past to-day that I have almost become a ghost myself. Everything about me—the very name of this city, suddenly remembered—forces me to think of the man who died a hundred years ago. Until now he was merely a historic name, an accepted fact, a part of the whole, for me and for every one of us.

But at once I see clearly that I am only the creature of his dream, that everything about me is but the realization of an idea born in the brain of one who is far away and incomprehensible.

The full moon is shining through my window, adding to the solemnity of my mood. I feel a presence—whose? Ah! It is only that picture hanging on the wall opposite, gazing down upon me. Its strikingly large, dream-filled eyes fascinate me. He—again. *Ecce.*



DR. A. CORALNIK

I know that in the flesh, and in his spirit, he was not like the image my overwrought fancy attempts to evoke, but much simpler and, at the same time, far more colorful. He lived, perhaps, in an entirely different dimension.

Yet what does it matter? For it is the destiny of man to be projected from one plane of existence into another. Existence itself is but an image arising from the idea of life, and then growing beyond it.

MUCH has been written and spoken about Herzl; but little thought, and even less creative fancy, has taken him as its subject. This seems to be a characteristic of the Jews: to weave

legends about men of words, and not of deeds. Our finest chronicles of this sort—and perhaps the only ones—are those centering about our mystics and Cabalists. Or Herzl may have come too late, long after Jewry had lost its power of mythogenesis.

Hermann Cohen, the greatest Jewish thinker of the nineteenth century—Herzl's century—once said that the essence of thought is *Reinheit der Einheit*—that is, purity of creative thought, purity of the absolute. Yet gradually there is penetrating a view which my friend Lanai Afulai, keenly sensitive thinker that he is, recently expressed in a clear-cut sentence: "Theodor Herzl was the greatest mistake of the Jewish people—this is why he delivered it from its truth."

These words were received with stormy indignation; for men fear precisions. But those who thought and understood more deeply recognized this utterance as the key to an understanding of Herzl and of Jewish history. Intrinsically, of course, it was not new. Even Herzl's contemporaries felt it vaguely; the one who perceived it most clearly was the extraordinarily keen-scented Ahad Ha-am. And, indeed, the recognition of this mistake, the realization of his own error, was the source of the tragedy of Herzl.

Yet the concepts of Ahad Ha-am and Afulai are essentially different. Ahad Ha-am considered Herzl's mistake a mere error of thought; Afulai recognized it as a conscious act. He wanted to renounce the Jew in himself, to hide himself from his own presence.

Eyes that gaze down from the wall—you sad, commanding, unfathomable eyes—why do you look upon me so pathetically, as if pleading for redemption—upon me, the son of a later day? Upon me, to whom that which you sought is a fact. Tell me what you have seen—although very soon my eyes, too, will no longer see this finite world, and I, the Theodorian, will be coeval with you, Theodor, beyond time. And yet, while the light still shines. . . .

No more of this. Let there be no pathos, no sentimentality. The white night unnerves, the silence intoxicates me—I am exhausted. I must shade the lamp, veil the portrait. I must have calm, dim light, shadowy outlines. I shall go back to the beginning.

A century ago. A world shrouded in mist. Europe at the end of her road, America at the outset, Asia still a cultural nebula, as if she belonged to a different universe. Europe struggling for the central position. And in Europe—the ancient European culture, and especially Christianity, the Church. A number of bodies rushing about in eccentric orbits, each striving against the others for the focal position. Among these bodies a living mass, tossed to and fro, hurled back and forth, clinging here and repelled there, always in the way: the Jews. An obstruction to themselves and to the others. For, though surrounded by all this erratic motion, by this dissolution and transformation, they remained firm.

In the East—revolution. In the West—a premonition of the impending catastrophe. An old world in its death-throes. And in a mountain village, midway between the East and the West, the bed of a dying man. A man in the prime of life, hair and beard scarcely touched with gray, a regal grandeur in his pallid face. Weary, mortally exhausted—dead.

From all the corners of the world arose the weeping of a desolated people, wailing like women in Jerusalem lamenting the destruction of the Temple.

His contemporaries have told us with what tragic suddenness death seized this fine, powerful man. Every one, near and far, was overwhelmed by his death. Yet every one felt that it could not have been otherwise. They who gathered about his banner knew that this death was a seal and a confirmation. Being a great man, he had to die prematurely. Being a genuine personality, he was not permitted to finish his work. He had to die while still young in order to be reborn in legend. An early death was his duty to his work. This death relieved the tension, and gave form to his achievements. Had he continued to live there would have been added complications, and perhaps even ossification. It was his great good fortune to die in the midst of his creative work; and our good fortune that it was granted him to complete his work in the course of a few short years.

In a recent essay, *Herzl as a Myth*, our whimsical poet Pelai brought proof, in his inimitable, subtly playful manner, that Herzl had never actually existed as a historic personality; that he was a fiction, the dramatization, so to speak, of a historical process which took place in Jewry. This was a favorite artifice of the old, religious philosophers and even of students of literature; thus Wolff's hypothesis concerning Homer. But it was a valuable artifice that revealed many a hidden truth.

And Pelai's paradox—or metaphor—also brings revelation: Herzl, mythical figure of Jewry, taking up the struggle against Jewish substantiality. Or, perhaps more correctly, the ancient myth opposing itself to the younger, later-born. Universal error as against Jewish truth, creative error as against sterile truth. The great mistake of Babel as opposed to the great truth of the Bible. What did those poor wretches want with their Tower? For what did they labor so arduously—to what end did they waste their strength? For the mythical value of multiplicity, of variety, of the equivalence of "the other side." Many peoples, many gods, many tongues. *Quot capita tot mentes.*

Then came the Jewish spirit and declared the "other side" to be "evil"—the *Sitra Achra.* The multiple became false; the false, in turn, became evil. One God, one nation, one idea. Everything else—anything else—was evil. Perhaps it was not folly or a lack of historical understanding which impelled the ancients to believe, as Philo did, that Plato showed Jewish tendencies. For Plato might be called the least Hellenic thinker of antiquity. To him the *allo*—the "other"—was the principle of void, of evil, of non-being. To divert all the innumerable currents of the world, flowing in every

rection, into a single stream—this was the demand
Judaism. The contrast became sharper, more
onounced, from century to century.

Leibnitz *versus* Spinoza. Contemporaries, peers
most. But Leibnitz retained the error of "mani-
ldness"—the monad—and created the differential cal-
lus. Through his error, out of his error he welded
implement by which new truths were discovered.

As for Spinoza—possessed by the unique truth of
niversal unity he remained on his lofty, inaccessible
ak. With him, as Nietzsche would say, only the
gle and the serpent. Men did not know what to
with this frozen, inviolable truth. The Jews no
ore than others. They forced Spinoza out of their
mmunity because the burden of his thought grew
o heavy for them. He was their projection into
e infinite—their vague notion developed to com-
lete clarity. And they were frightened and abashed
this clarity. Let it pass us by—they pleaded—
is cup of ultimate cognition.

A nation whose history is one of continuous
volt—against itself, against its God. Why were
e prophets ever berating this wretched little people
hich, surrounded and invaded by foes, was con-
antly struggling for its very life? What did they
ant from the Jews? Through the continuous
mpests and wars of the ages we hear a faint sigh:
hy must it be we? *Ma l'cho l'beth Israel?*

Unsuccessfully they attempted to escape their
te; but it pursued them like the God of the Bible
ing in wait for Moses in the desert. They wanted
be like others, to be different. They longed for
mething else, to be as all the nations. Their
tempts failed miserably. And they yielded to the
evitable—to become the bearers of truth, to suffer
artyrdom for an unfathomable idea. Because this
uth was universal and unique the multiple became
ut an aberration. Hence our fundamental opposition
the entire course of historical development.
ngels was right when he called the Jews a people
ithout history. But he should have gone further;
e should have said: A people that negates history.

For they lived in the spirit. All Jewish culture
as based upon continual dissolution of actual facts.
t was a culture of eternal wakefulness—and, there-
ore, *atonic*. The Jews permitted neither themselves
or others to sleep. Always awake, they inevitably
ecame sentinels, guardians—a biological monstros-
ty. For everything that lives must sleep. Sleep is
nore powerful than wakefulness. In the waking
tate man lacks the most essential thing of all, the
ond that unites him to the course of the world—
reams.

The Jews had forgotten how to dream.

This is why a Jew was the first to understand the
ature of dreams. A Viennese Jew—Freud. Indeed,
f all the Jews of the last century those of the Ger-
nan-speaking lands seem to have been most fully
wake. Perhaps because everything about them was
o somnolent. The German legend of the sleeping
Emperor Barbarossa as against the Jewish myth of the
wakeful, errant Messiah. And, finally, the Jews
even forgot the yearning hidden in the ancient words:
"When we return to Zion we shall be as those who
dream. . . ."

You eyes upon the wall—what was your secret?
You have nothing of the specifically Jewish look,
the deep, penetrating, ineffably sad and ironic look
of Koheleth. Nothing of the shifting, feverish,
probing, never closing eyes of the Eternal Wanderer.
I recognize the gaze of the dreamer—veiled, calm,
a smooth surface hiding the depths of a wondrous
world.

The dreamer Herzl—perhaps the first true dreamer
among the Jews in modern times. For his dream was
detached from the wakeful reality of the Jewish
spirit. He dreamed of multiplicity, of variety, of
hyle, matter, physical substance. He dreamed that
the Jews were like others—their equals, with the
same point of view, subject to the same laws, free
at last from the torture-wheel of the past. A people
instead of a commonwealth of those who suffer—a
nation instead of a pawn. A nation of human beings
liberated of inner torment and conflict, relieved of
the burden of responsibility for the world and past
ages. A new life of communion with others instead
of constant introspection—and therefore spatially
defined and formulated. No longer the "vessel of
God," but, as Voltaire once said: *Mon verre est
petit, mais je bois de mon verre.*

Dreams are simplification. And this is Herzl's
great achievement: He simplified the Jewish problem,
reduced it to a single formula—the State.

The ancient truth of Judaism demanded the absence
of the state, of bounds or limitations. For "all
restriction is negation," as that consummator of
Jewish thought, Spinoza, postulated. "God" com-
manded release from bonds, dissolution of the mani-
fold, contiguity in the universal, the infinite. Not
a state, politically speaking, but a world. This was
the politico-moral concept inherent in Jewish cul-
ture. But it had become too great, too incommensura-
ble for its feeble exponent. The Jew suffered under the
excessively heavy burden of his heritage and yearned
for a redeemer.

Then came Herzl, bringing deliverance and relief.
Intuitively, impelled by a dream. For he bore no
burden—he was a *tabula rasa*. Hence he ordered
everything anew, played the rôle of a creator.

He recalls his only precursor in history—David
Rëubeni. To him, too, Judaism was a political,
not a spiritual problem. And there are many points
of similarity between the two. Both are children of
fancy, so to speak—romancers. Only in their back-
grounds did they differ. Rëubeni—an alleged (or
perhaps genuine?) prince of the Jews in distant
Arabia. Theodor Herzl—a native of Budapest, an
adopted Viennese, a journalist, playwright, feuille-
tonist, *causeur*. Not a man of politics in the ordinary
sense of the term. Hardly ponderous. Facile, al-

most frivolous in style. Neither comprehensive nor profound. And so far from Jewishness—a European through and through. Vienna, Paris—no desert anywhere. No burning bush, no passionate fervor, no spontaneous effervescence of imagination. Like many others—like all the others. But this is hidden by a curious mask—lordly, Sardanapalian. A born *grand seigneur*—the scion of a princely house. This is why he could not tolerate misery, why it appeared so petty and ugly to him. His most powerful motive was pride. Proud men love the *beau geste*, broad expanses, the straight line. They are, one might almost say, men of the imaginary Euclidian line.

We of to-day hardly know this type. We—and especially we of Judæa—are too complicated for this marvelous granite simplicity. And it is precisely because of this that we admire the titanic, archaic figure of Herzl. Indeed, it was archaic even in his own day—this is why he made so profound an impression upon his contemporaries.

IT is easy to analyze and criticize *post factum*. We who have seen the realization of the movement Herzl inaugurated, we who know the consequences of his ideas almost in their consummation—we find it easy to perceive the mistakes in Herzl's historical attitude and in his methods. Not everything has happened as he expected: That would have been impossible. It was Herzl's doom to come too late for his people, too early for history.

With his idea of the Jewish State he came to a people that had already outgrown the narrow concept of the state. And that in an age over which hung the sword of revolution and war.

He negotiated with the despots of Russia, with the Czar's hangmen; he built his hopes on the promised support of Germany; and, curiously enough, he—the experienced political observer—overlooked the significant factors of world history. He had excessive faith in politics and diplomacy. His characteristic trait was impatience—and he took into his hands the fate of an infinitely patient people.

This was his greatest achievement, his essentially creative deed: He taught the Jews impatience—vivified the Jewish problem. He removed the veil of mysticism that had shrouded it. And the nations, who had not known how to manage the Jewish question—for it lay on an entirely different, super-historical plane—felt veritable relief when the Jews were brought into the political order of things.

Like all the others at last! Now they could come to terms. No more Sinai, no more burning bush, no more redemption of the world—but the green table, diplomatic chancelries, audiences, discussions concerning loans and charters.

Do ut des was to apply to Jewry also.

But the times were not ripe for this. And the Jewish people had grown beyond it. This bitter truth forced itself upon Herzl very soon. He sincerely believed in miracles. "If you want it, it is no dream." Like all strong personalities, like al[l] pathfinders and simplifiers, he had a dogmatic fait[h] in will, in the supremacy of will. And the miracl[e] came to pass. He forced Jewry to subject intelle[ct] to will. What matter that Jewish history took an[-]other course? What matter that Herzl's dream wa[s] realized only sixty years after his death—on tha[t] memorable day in August, 1964, when the Jews o[f] Palestine severed their connections with the inter[-]national pro-Palestine organization and emancipate[d] Palestine from the insignificant remnants of worl[d] Jewry?

It was, indeed, high time. For Palestine worl[d] Jewry had been an obstacle at every step—the livin[g] organism was burdened with the dead. Now i[t] stood free to weave anew, on its own responsibility the web of Jewish destiny.

This was inevitable. Jewry had to disappea[r] everywhere—the beginning was made by America[n] Jewry—to enable a new Jewish life to grow up i[n] Palestine.

In Jerusalem to-day they sang the song of Herzl of "the shepherd who came to his scattered flock." The girls' chorus sang it. And the men replied:

Ba l'am atik yamin
Benyamin, Benyamin.

A legend. The only thing—the most valuabl[e] element—that remains of his life.

He became a mythical figure because essentiall[y] he was alien to the Jews of his day. Hence h[is] victory.

EYES—lost in dreams—you hypnotized the Jew forced him to sleep. And the somnambuli[st] achieved that of which the wakeful Wanderer ha[d] been incapable.

But is our sleep nearing its end? Are we, the so[ns] of a new age, awake once more, ready for the leap?

I see some symptoms of it. The impulse to redee[m] the world is stirring once more in the Jewish sou[l]. The pilgrim's staff is blooming. Is the long roa[d] waiting for us again? Then let us go—if we must. . .

But we thank him for the brief rest he gave u[s]. As Swinburne once sang:

"From too much love of living
From hope and fear set free,
We thank with brief thanksgiving
Whatever gods may be.
That no man lives for ever
That dead men rise up never
That even the weariest river
Winds somehow safe to sea."

Enough of this. I, too, am a "weary river." Th[e] night is passing—and the magic of the night. . . .

(The fragment breaks off here. Unfortunately th[e] young author, who died in Theodoria soon afte[r] was unable to finish his work. A. C.)

Continuity and Creation

The Balance Between the Traditional and the New

By DR. SHMARYA LEVIN

'here is a synthesis to be found between the thought of Ahad Ha-am and odor Herzl which can enrich the Zionist idea, Dr. Levin declares in article, deprecating the emphasis on the differences between the philoso-r and the statesman of the Zionist movement. Dr. Levin is one of foremost Zionist thinkers to-day, and has been largely influential in spread of the Zionist idea in this country.

TRADITION is a two-edged sword. Or we may say of it: it is a driving force which can be transformed into a destructive force. It is urished by the past, and seeks to establish itself the future. To the extent that it seeks to form future, and pour it into certain molds, it is a ving force. To the extent, however, that it seeks make of the future a ond, unimproved edi-n of the past, it is a structive force. Tradi-n looks for continuity, t it trembles before the v. And in respect to h of these it exerts all native inertia. In re-ect to continuity, it sses its inertia to ensure realization. In respect the new, it masses its rtia to prevent its birth. is the same quantity in her case, once under the is sign, and once under minus sign.

But in the process of ation we have not only ntinuity of life, but new too. History repeats elf: yet history is some-ing more than a collec-n of repetitions. From ne to time it adds new apters. God "*renews* ery day the primal crea-n." He is the same God ho "builds worlds and stroys them." He destroys them because they do t please Him. And then He builds better ones. t the better worlds are not simply the continua-n of the worlds that were before. To be better ey must have something new in them, and that the addition to the worlds which preceded them.

That which we call progress, as the sum total of effect-life forces, is the harmonization of con-uity with newness, the fusion of both elements. ogress cannot therefore be based on tradition alone: it must be seconded by another force, which thrusts toward newness. Tradition alone cannot bring forth progress, because repetition is a matter of quantity, and progress implies quality. The one means multi-plication, the other improvement.

But, on the other hand, progress without tradition is equally unthinkable. For if we ignored tradition as the force of continuity, there would be nothing to renew. And then we would have to lay the entire *foundation* anew, and human strength, great as it is, would be inadequate for the task. To begin from the alphabet once more would no longer be progress. A world utterly new would presumably be much poorer than the old.

Recent history supplies us with two such instances of the revolt of the human spirit in its search for com-plete and utter liberation: it sought liberation to the extreme point of total ne-gation of the past, that is to say, of a ruthless assault on all tradition. Of these rebellions one took place on the plane of the spirit, the other on the plane of practical things; and neither rebellion succeeded. The spiritual revolt, mag-nificent in its protest and daring, lost entirely its power of attraction. The greatest living masters of the spirit have turned from it, and denied it. The prac-tical revolt, vast in its scope, daring in its prom-ises, agonizes before our eyes. With painted cheeks it simulates the appearance of vigor; but the death-rattle is audible to all those that can hear. The two revolts I speak of are Nietz-scheanism and Bolshevism.

Drawing by Joel Levitt
DR. SHMARYA LEVIN

TWO men set themselves the same goal—the liberation of their people; but during their life-time—as after their death—they were regarded as antagonists, carriers of thesis and anti-thesis. They too were frequently conscious of their antagonism; it expressed itself in open intellectual conflict, and

it came to pass that their respective followers were even more extreme than their leaders, and they did their best to widen and deepen the gulf which had opened between the two greatest personalities of our times, the two most fearless and most consistent personifications of our national idea.

Ahad Ha-am was the most explicit of all the carriers of the Jewish tradition, not in petty and formal matters, but in those matters which are of the highest historic significance. His sole high ideal was the creation of those circumstances which would enable the Jew to live himself out and express the fullness of his spirit in the *musar hayehaduth*—the folk moral of the Jewish people. And for him this was no empty phrase: it was an insulated and self-contained *Weltanschauung*, severe in its forms, rigid in its scientific proof. We need only look closely into his essays *Moses*, *Shilton Hasechel* (The Reign of Intelligence) and *Al Shtei Has'ipim*, to know the greatness of the Jew who speaks in them, and to know how rigidly and exactly the great Jew had thought through, to the logical conclusion, every word and every thought he uttered. There rises before us one of the primal giants, who sees Judaism as the loftiest formulation of human morality. He desired to create, for the carriers of this morality, such conditions as would enable it to find practical expression, so that it might become a *Torath Chaim*, a living lore, no longer imprisoned in a book, as it has been till now. For the living realization of the *musar hayehaduth* he must have an autonomous Jewish life in Palestine—but that autonomy *must possess all its proper attributes*. And here Ahad Ha-am descends from the upper spheres right into the cellar of our every-day life. He rejoices like a child when he finds in *Hazvi*, published by Ben Yehudah, an article on fertilizers. A student in the school of Mikveh Israel had described how the fields ought to be fertilized: and from the article rises to our nostrils the odor of the fertilizer, the strong odor of nature herself, and we feel that with all its errors and poverty and its shortcomings the new *Yishuv* bears within itself life for all our people. Step by step, unwittingly, he carries us from one world into the other, from the speeches of the Kelmer Maggid to the lectures of the student of Mikveh Israel.

His starting point was the *musar hayehaduth*, the tradition, the historic continuity, and he wound up with the new, the autonomy of Palestine. His march was from *Al Shtei Has'ipim* right up to the fertilization of the fields.

HERZL came out of the Jewish assimilated world without a suspicion of tradition about him, certainly not of conscious tradition. The cradle of his childhood was rocked by the light winds of the life of Vienna. And he passed his latter years in the Paris of a generation ago, Paris the gay, the happy. Something touched him, a spark, a flash which came down from heaven. And in the heart of Herzl a sacred fire breaks out, unquenchable. A terrifi revolt ensues within him, and with a single gestur he breaks with the entire past. For him there is n longer a yesterday. New-born, he comes into hi new world, the chosen avatar. He does not com like a prophet, laden with the burden of the genera tions: he comes like a judge in the hour of twilight light-footed, swift and mobile. He is not bowe under the crushing vision of the prophet; he doe not speak of a process of purification, which mus endure for generations, until the generation wil emerge which is crystal-clear, prepared for liberation with a single leap he passes from Galuth to *Judenstaat* For the slower process would be tradition, draggin on continuity from one phase to the next. But fo the new there is no barrier: it overleaps the boundarie both of space and of time. In the *Judenstaat* he talk of a Jewish State at large—it is only later that h pauses on Palestine. In this respect he is neithe unique nor the first. Pinsker too spoke at first of State at large. But Palestine already represen tradition; the word is dictated by the compulsion o a historic past, and before we can come to Palesti there must first be a return to the past.

He calls together the First Congress. Here is th New. No one believed that there could be created gathering of the Exile in miniature such as wa expressed by the First Congress. That Jews of variou countries should assemble, and speak *so openly* putting an end to the Galuth, tell the whole wor the *entire truth* to its face, and demand a State of the own—this was the unexpected. It is another lea across generations and ages. The ice is broke A new era begins in Jewish history, and the era begi not with the man who personified tradition, but wi the man of the New. The call of the stranger wh arose in the distance of the West evoked a mag response among our own, our near ones in the Eas Many hear his name for the first time, have nev seen his face; and yet they are drawn to him wi magnetic force, and crown him their leader. T question of leadership: "Whom shall we follow is not even raised. Tacitly, the question answe itself: yesterday a stranger, to-day a leader. T man who came prepared to work wonders becom a wonder himself.

But those that are willing to be led do not co empty-handed. They bring with them their spir ual bag and baggage. And it contains the h toric continuity, the best of the tradition of th people—language, taste, folk-morals; in a wo everything that is comprised in the concept of cultu There spring up passionate debates round the qu tion of that culture. And the leader sits on t tribune and does not understand his followers. one of the early Congresses he turns to them wit question: "Please, explain to me what Jewish cult is." And he is himself a man of culture in the fin sense of the word: he understands well that Jewish nation has created its own peculiar cultu

alues, only he does not understand what this has ɔ do with the main problem, with the founding of Jewish State. Let the Jews have their own State nd a culture will follow of its own accord. What is ıe use, then, of worrying about cultural problems *ow?* And he writes a book, *Altneuland;* he bodies ɔrth his dream of the State. Cultural problems do ot interest him. He ignores them; and the anger of ıe defender of Jewish tradition is kindled. It is n anger which is logically just, psychologically njust. Had not Herzl already proclaimed that ionism meant a return to Judaism even before it ɔuld mean a return to the Jewish land?

And the thing happened: the hero of the *musar ayehaduth* outlived the hero of the Jewish State lea. The powerful thinker, physically frail, lived ɔ the respectable age of seventy, quite according to ıe tradition which says: *The days of our life are venty years.* And the leader of the State idea, magficent of build, majestic of appearance—leader of ıe State before the State was born, the King crowned efore the throne was prepared—the man of revolt d not endure; he fell in the midst of his growth, ill full of energy and strength. He left the temɔral for the eternal. Millions mourned for the ɔung hero, tens of thousands wept for him, and ıousands preached his funeral oration. But no one eached like his great antagonist: none knew so ell to express his worth, no one wove for him so illiant a crown as his keenest critic.

Ahad Ha-am's funeral tribute on the premature eath of Herzl is to be found in the introduction to ıe third volume of *Al Parashath Hadrachim.* It ould be well for every Zionist to read that tribute ıd if possible to learn it by heart. Out of the oration the antagonist the gigantic figure of Herzl rises ore imposing than out of the tributes of his friends; e emerges here with ultimate clarity as the leader modern Jewry, in whom a new epoch of our history egins.

"One thing rises above all doubting: to call forth a short time a great movement, even if it is more ı the surface, more in its sound, can only belong to ıe who carries within himself the spark of the onder-man: the kind that emerges only at rare ıtervals among nations, and with a strong hand cuts ıt a new path. . . . In our history, too, such gures are not lacking. But their character varies ith the age, being adapted to the changed spirit of ıe time. . . . Only the hypnotic effect of such a onder-man could have made faith and wonder to ossom in great masses of people, transform Zionism to a mass movement, and lift it out of the narrow amework in which it was locked before the man of onder appeared. . . . Were it not for this faith, hich perceives in Zionism the end of the Galuth ıd the solution of the Jewish problem in all its ıstness, there would have remained to Zionism only s ethical aim: to refresh the heart of a people and unite it in spirit through the creation of a national center, concrete and free. But it is impossible for such a movement to take a wide path and a swift one through all the ranks of the people, for the reason that it demands a specific widening and evolution of the intelligence, such as cannot be found among the masses."

The bearer of the *musar hayehaduth* declares the stranger who came from a distance to have been the wonder-man—the only one who was capable of lifting the Zionist movement out of its narrow framework and of transforming it into a really great folk movement. This is a destiny which rarely attends an individual life. And for that reason he believes that the dead leader would, after his death, become transformed into a great driving force, a greater force, perhaps, than he represented during his lifetime. For men of this single class have two levels of existence. The one is short—the span of a human life; the other remains forever the most beautiful heritage which one man can leave to his people—the ideal existence of the wonder-man. The imagination of the people is no longer tied down, "and it weaves the ideal form of the hero in all its beauty and perfection. It is now all light and luster, inspiring and uplifting the soul."

And further on: "The days will pass, and the ideal form of the national hero will achieve its perfection. And then it will perhaps become for our people and for generations to come that which the national heroes of old time became for our ancestors in the past generations: round him the people will concentrate its national ideal in all its brightness and purity, and out of him it will again create force and strength to endure, without failing, the long road which leads into the unmeasured future. . . . One thing our Herzl gave us unwittingly, but it is perhaps greater than anything he gave us of set purpose: he gave us *himself* as the bearer of the poesy of our rebirth; a bearer to whom our fantasy can cling, crowning him with all the greatest virtues, so as to make of him the Hebrew National Hero in whom our national aspirations shall be embodied in their proper form."

There is a marvelous passage in our classic literature: Why was it necessary for the first Jewish leader, the father of the Prophets, for him who spoke with God face to face, to receive an alien education and to come to us as an adult out of the alien Pharaonic world? And the answer is short and compelling: Had Moses received a Jewish education, and then come to the Jews and proclaimed that the hour of liberation had sounded, they would not have believed him. They would have answered him: "*Masorah hi b'yadecha: it is tradition that speaks out of you.*" But when he came as a stranger, they believed him.

Tradition is a power that sustains. Tradition is also a power that drives. But there are moments when tradition can become a destructive force. In such moments the leader must come from afar and create an atmosphere of *faith.* Then he himself becomes a tradition, the latest tradition of all.

My Conversion to Zionism

Reminiscences of First Meetings with Herzl in England and Elsewhere

By JOSEPH COWEN

The career of Joseph Cowen in Zionism is a remarkable illustration of the power which Herzl exerted over those with whom he came in contact. At first believing the Zionist idea no more than visionary, Mr. Cowen remained distant from the movement. Under the spell of Herzl's personality he finally joined, and became one of Herzl's most trusted friends, as well as an important factor in the development of Zionism.

THE first time I saw Herzl was in Basle in 1897 when, dressed in evening clothes at ten o'clock in the morning, he appeared on the tribune and opened the First Zionist Congress. The evening dress was characteristic of the man. He had given strict orders that all delegates were to appear at this First Zionist Congress in festive attire. This was not snobbery. He wished to impress the world with the fact that the Jews were coming out of the ghetto and were from then on to be regarded as a normal people—and as on the Continent of Europe congresses were wont to assemble in evening clothes, the Jews must do likewise.

What immediately impressed me about the man was his Jewish and Biblical appearance. He looked a veritable King in Israel. His voice enchanted every hearer; it was clear and ringing as a silver bell. My knowledge of German, the language in which he spoke, was not as good then as it is now and I was not able to follow him quite easily, but the gist of his speech, as that of Nordau who followed him, was a revelation to me. The contrast between the two speakers was remarkable. Nordau of the leonine head—in short, sharp, staccato tones, but with even more faultless oratory—reviewed the Jewish position in the world. No one who heard those two speeches will ever forget them. Their note of feeling and sincerity was evident.

For the first time in my life I heard Jews who did not apologize for being Jews, who did not seek to excuse themselves in any way, but who were seemingly proud of the fact. The tumult raised within me was but a reflex of that raised within the breast of every one present at the gathering; and it was with these emotions that I sat as a guest with Zangwill at Herzl's luncheon table immediately following those two addresses.

I remember being spellbound by all the brilliant talk that went on around me. But in spite of the fact that the whole atmosphere was of so electrifying a nature, I felt that the idea of building a Jewish State which was being so seriously discussed, was so fantastic and visionary that all these people around me were living in a world of illusion and I was the only really sane person present. When Herzl during the luncheon wished to pin the badge of a delegate in my buttonhole, it was almost with a feeling of distrust that I refused. Surely there must be somethin wrong in all this brilliancy and eloquence? I must however, admit that I remained at the Congress u to its close.

Between the First and Second Congresses, howeve "something happened to me," and I commenced t think and read and talk about Jews and the Jewis question. In fact, I found myself so interested in th whole subject that I determined to seek out the Je in his "native lair," so to speak, and for that purpo went the following summer to Galicia. My studi were interrupte by the Secon Congress, which attended as a pe son who was a ready interest in the Zioni idea. I rememb Herzl's again d siring to pin th Zionist bad upon me and n telling him th although h thought h dream was beautiful one, was visionar and I, as a pra tical man, cou not support Herzl's perso ality, howev gained more a



AN INTERMISSION AT ONE OF THE CONGRESSES
Left to right: Joseph Cowen, Herzl's Mother, Frau Wolffsohn, David Wolffsohn and Herzl

re upon me, as indeed it did upon every one with om he came in contact.

have said earlier that he appeared to me like a ig in Israel. I have heard it said that after his it to the Sultan of Turkey, the Sultan was reported have said: "It seems to me that Jesus Christ must ve looked like that man." When later on in his eer Herzl saw Joseph Chamberlain, I believe the ter was equally impressed with his personality; l I have no doubt whatever that what success rzl may have gained was due to the tremendous pression that he personally made upon those with om he came in contact. He possessed that in- igible thing which is nowadays called "charm" a greater extent than any person I have ever met ore or since. And this appeal was to all classes l races, whether Russian students in the gallery of Congress, hansom cab drivers in London, old inge-selling women in the streets of any city or vonder" Rabbis from the ghetto. All looked up to m with a glint in their eyes as if struck by some- ng of another world.

To the Third Congress, having met Herzl again in interval, I came for the first time as a delegate, ving been convinced that

> "*Wenn Ihr wollt*
> *Ist es kein Märchen.*"

was at this Congress, owing to the following vial incident, that I became a devoted admirer and lower of Herzl; and to it I owe the greatest thing my life—Herzl's friendship.

I had been appointed member of a committee set to report on Organization. We had barely begun r sitting at ten o'clock one evening when Herzl ddenly burst into the room and said: "I want your port for to-morrow morning—first item on the ngress agenda."

The Chairman of the Committee said: "Quite possible"—we had barely begun it and it would obably take us two or three days at least before our port could be ready. Some other members sup- rted the Chairman. I got up—it was a hot night— d, taking off my coat, said: "Come on boys, the hief wants it. We'll do it if it takes all night." We d. Herzl told me afterwards that my taking off y coat had shown him I was a man he could depend . He had others—all of us who loved him— olffsohn, than whom none more devoted, Alex- der and Oskar Marmorek, Oser Kokesch, Max andelstamm of Kiev, Gustav Cohen of Hamburg, J. Greenberg, Katzenelsohn of Libau—all of them d many more always ready to obey and follow him.

At the Fourth Congress—held in London—I was airman of the English Zionist Federation, and as ch presided over the first formal Zionist feast—a nquet at the Queen's Hall at the end of the Con- ess, with five to six hundred delegates and guests. was at this Congress that Herzl's presence was r some time in doubt owing to a chill he had caught visiting London's newly-installed "two-penny tube"; and this was the first warning we had of his physical condition. But how we cheered him in London— East and West.

My connection with him and the inner work of the movement became ever more intimate. Hardly a day passed without its letter or telegram. He never spared himself or others in the cause—he was indeed, as Zangwill had named him, "the Motor-Car Messiah." Whether endeavoring to learn how to punt on the Thames at Cookham; or in his summer holiday at Alt-Aussee, where so many of his friends used to foregather to discuss ways and means of furthering the cause; or in Paris, where we often met (it was a convenient center—Nordau and Alexander Marmorek lived there) for the same purpose; or at Budapest cajoling Vambery into helping us at Constantinople, he was always the same electrically energetic statesman ever seeking to make bricks without straw, full of charm, vitality and smiling humor. And all the time the devoted son of his queenly mother and noble father, the faithful husband of his gracious wife, the loving father of his three children whom he adored, was ever conscious that the owners and editors of the *Neue Freie Presse*, upon whom he depended for his living, were ostentatiously so hostile to his views that during the whole of his lifetime they never suffered even the word "Zionism" to sully its pages. Truly a heroic character!

The simplicity of his home life at Währing, his modest way of living, his delight at any fortuitous piece of good luck that seemed at the moment to help the idea forward—how can I possibly make the reader understand all these things? Perhaps the finest tribute to him is that he knowingly—for he would never allow the Zionist Organization to pay him a *sou*— reduced himself to a penniless condition, spending all the comparatively little he had on the movement, and left his widow and children to the mercy of the Jewish people.

We had our differences. I was publicly admonished by him on one occasion, having made some suggestions about the Jewish Colonial Trust—with which I had only, at that time, the ordinary Zionist's connection—when he said, pointing to me: "Federation is Federation, and Bank is Bank." There were other divergences again and again, but my love for him and his trust in me were never disturbed.

In the spring of 1904 I went to America and Herzl asked me to get American support. Judge Mayer Sulzberger was very helpful and suggested that Herzl should visit America. Hearing he was unwell I hurried back to Europe and rushed across to Edlach. My visit brightened him. Having only passed through England after an absence of some months, I wanted to see my people, if only for a day. I promised to return to Edlach and accompany him elsewhere in four days. We all thought a change might do him good. . . . My last sight of him was the wave of those delicate hands and the "*Auf wiedersehen*" . . .

". . . Arbeit Für Alle"

Herzl's Views on "Capturing the Jewish Communities"

By LEONARD STEIN

The consummation of the extended Jewish Agency has recreated interest in Herzl's aim to "capture the Jewish communities" as part of his plan to unite the interest of world Jewry in the resettlement of Palestine. Mr. Stein, Political Secretary of the Zionist Organization, has been one of the important figures in the negotiations for the extension of the Jewish Agency.

It is difficult to write on Herzl and the Jewish Agency, for this subject takes one into the realm of vague and half-formed ideas—of dimly discernible tendencies rather than of positive facts. How far can Herzl be said to have anticipated or to have desired the developments which have led to the proposals, now on the eve of fruition, for permanent co-operation between Zionists and so-called "non-Zionists" within the framework of an enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine? So stated, the question is one to which it must, in the nature of things, be impossible to give a definite answer. Herzl's thought was fluid, and even in the interval of less than ten years between the writing of the *Judenstaat* in 1895 and his death in 1904, his ideas were substantially modified. Nor is it a question of definite and well-marked stages. One phase shades almost imperceptibly into the next; Herzl's views were never petrified into a hard-and-fast body of doctrine. Again, if Herzl was a dreamer, he was also a realist. He wanted positive achievements, and he knew that policies have to be adapted to changing circumstances. He could not and did not foresee the Jewish Agency, as we know it to-day, any more than he foresaw the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate; but in his speeches and writings, viewed as a whole, there is ample warrant for the belief that his instinct would have been to work through the Agency for that united front which was one of his own most cherished dreams. It would be misleading to put it higher; and the best way to illustrate Herzl's point of view will be to allow him, as far as possible, to speak for himself. This is my excuse for the rather numerous quotations which follow.

It is not always remembered that before the *Judenstaat* was published Herzl had already laid his views privately before Baron de Hirsch. The *Judenstaat* did not make its appearance until the beginni of 1896, but as early as the spring of 1895 we fi Herzl attempting to persuade Baron de Hirsch place himself at the head of a movement for solvi the Jewish problem by mass-emigration, and, abo all, for dealing with it on the plane of statesmanshi as contrasted with philanthropy. Before the *Jude staat* appeared Herzl also had his first contact wi the rather select group of English Jews known as t Maccabæans. This was in November, 1895, and was in his speech to the Maccabæans that Her first gave his plans a limited measure of publicit In January, 1896, when the *Judenstaat* was already type, Herzl contributed to the London *Jewish Chroni* a long exposé of his scheme, which was, in effect, summary of his brochure. He there explains that h idea is that the Society of Jews, which plays prominent a part in his project, shall draw th nucleus of its membership "*aus dem Kreise der wacher englischen Juden, denen ich in London meinen P mitteilte.*" He reverts to this idea in his *Diaries*, which he writes, under the date of May 31, 189 that he has explained to Dr. Bodenheimer his plan f organizing the Society of Jews in the form of General and an Executive Committee, both of whi are to consist mainly of English Jews, strengthen by co-opted members from other countries.



LEONARD STEIN

All this is mentioned showing that in the early stag Herzl was thinking in terms notables and of Western Jew rather than in terms of a ma movement of a democratic cha acter. In the *Judenstaat* its the exact composition of t Society of Jews and of the Je ish Company are left rath vague. As regards the Societ nothing more definite is sa than that "those Jews who fa in with our idea of a State w attach themselves to the S ciety." As regards the Co pany, we are told that its se is to be in London. As for i resources, it is explained—I a quoting Mr. de Haas' exce lent edition of Miss d'Avigdo translation—that "the thr methods of raising capital a (1) through *la haute finance*, (through small and priva

ıks, (3) through public subscription." The first ın is to be tried first; failing this, the second; and, ling both, "the Society of Jews might try to found : Company on a national subscription." In the ciety of Jews and the Jewish Company, taken gether, we have quite plainly the germ of what ıs eventually to develop into the Jewish Agency; t Herzl does not seem to have been quite clear, at e outset, as to how far either the Company or even : Society was to be organized on a democratic sis, as distinct from being directed from without a select body of Westernized Jews for the benefit the Jewish masses. "*Mein Plan*," said Herzl, ce more addressing the London Maccabæans, in ly, 1896, "*beruht nur darauf, dass unsere Armen nach neuen Heimat auswandern, die unsere alte Heimat ist, terstützt durch die Wohlhabenden.*"

WHATEVER Herzl's original intentions, the English and other Western Jews did not respond to ; appeal, and the establishment of the Zionist Ornization in 1897 marked a definite turn in a different ection. Writing in the *Contemporary Review* of Octo-r, 1897, Herzl contemptuously dismissed the charge at the Zionist Congress was not truly representative cause it had not the support of "*die Gemeindevor-ınde, Wohltätigkeitsgesellschaften, und alle jüdischen kwick-Klubs.*" Nevertheless, Herzl was anxious at the Zionist Organization should extend its ontiers, and at the Second Congress, in 1898, one the keynotes of his opening address was "Capture e Jewish Communities." "*Es kann nicht länger so iben,*" he declared, "*dass in jüdischen Kultusgemeinden gen Zion agitiert wird . . . Die Autorität der Kultus-neinde, die Mittel über die sie verfügt, die Personen die erhält, dürfen nicht gegen den Volksgedanken verwendet rden.*"

We are now getting decidedly closer to the enlarged wish Agency. Two years later, in an article in *e Welt* (1900, No. 1), Herzl develops the idea of e united front in a more conciliatory tone. Not ery one, he says, embarks on the ship at the ırting-point; some find it more convenient to ıvel overland, and join her further on. And *virheissen sie alle willkommen. Es gibt Platz und beit für alle.*"

A little later in the same year we come to Herzl's lebrated address in Vienna at a meeting of Jewish siness men and bankers. Again his theme is -operation and the sinking of differences for e common good. Some Zionists, he observes, ıy rejoice at being able to say that they are not as her Jews. They may think it enough that they can ide themselves on their fidelity to an ideal which hers have not the vision to share. But let us be ılists. "*Ich bin für den Bau-Zionismus,*" says Herzl; *ch möchte nicht dass wir überflüssig mit Juden kämpfen; möchte dass wir mit Juden bauen.*" There might be orse texts—indeed, it would not be easy to find etter—for a sermon on the Jewish Agency.

HOW TO PROPAGATE ZIONISM

DO you know the story of the Arab who killed a man because the latter asked him whither he was carrying his calf?

An Arab who, like most of his countrymen, had a patient, even-tempered character, set out one morning from his village to the city, carrying a calf. As he was striding cheerfully along the road, a man met him and asked: "Where are you carrying your calf?"

Our Arab answered: "To the city, good friend. God be with you."

He had not gone on for more than a few minutes, than a second one passed him and asked: "Whither are you carrying your calf?"

Our Arab answered: "To the city, good friend. God be with you."

Then, after a while, there came a third, a fourth, a fifth. The sight of the man with the calf provoked the same question in each one of them. And our Arab, being a patient fellow, always answered in a friendly tone: "To the city, good friend. God be with you."

But patience is a substance which wears out. When our Arab had answered the same question fifteen or twenty times, it began to annoy him. His answer became shorter. "To the city, friend." And this too, he repeated a dozen times or so, until even this became too much for him. The next man that asked him he answered curtly: "To the city!" And his voice became steadily more unfriendly, till it actually became rude. The blood mounted to his head. He began to believe that people had entered into a conspiracy to make a fool of him. And when the ninetieth or hundredth man asked him: "Whither are you carrying your calf?" the Arab thought he saw upon the questioner's lips a faint smile of mockery; whereupon he put his calf down, caught the man by the throat and choked him to death.

The Zionists are somewhat in the position of the Arab with his calf. They are forever asked the same question, and they are gradually becoming impatient. This it is that explains how our discussions at times take on a sharper tone. But I want to advise our friends that the people who ask the question are always new passers-by, and that they have not yet had an explanation. Let us peacefully give them the required answer. And let us also remember that as often as we answer the question we have carried our calf one step nearer to the city.

Of course it is worse in the case of those people whom we have already answered once, and who come boldly and ask again. Or who boldly answer: "It isn't true. You're not going to the city." Or: "The city just doesn't exist!" Or: "I am not your friend, and God will not be with you." When we meet such contrary people we must simply turn our backs on them and think to ourselves: "Soon we shall be in the city." *Herzl in a Speech in London.*

The Peaceful Emancipator

Herzl's Principles for the Restoration of Palestine

By MORRIS ROTHENBERG

Positive political action, peaceful penetration and colonization of the Jewish Homeland, and recognition of cultural aims in the development of Palestine—these were the principles of Herzl's program for the restoration of Palestine, the author of this article points out. Mr. Rothenberg, who is at present Chairman of the Board of Directors of the United Palestine Appeal, has been associated with the Zionist movement in America for some seventeen years.

FROM the most aristocratic and assimilationist quarter of Viennese Jewry a Messianic figure strode forth: Theodor Herzl, cosmopolitan man of letters, came forward to champion the cause of the Jewish people. Not merely to speculate upon the Jewish problem, or to proclaim their national solidarity to his fellow-Jews—this had been done before him, particularly by Moses Hess and the Choveve Zionists, who had anticipated even his political program of auto-emancipation; but to declare publicly, before the peoples and sovereigns of the world, that the Jews are a national entity with a claim to a Homeland of their own.

It is this public avowal of the dreams of Jewry which is perhaps the most valuable contribution of Theodor Herzl to the evolution of the Jewish spirit. Before his advent that spirit was humble, self-effacing, inhibited. He it was who gave it expression, who directed to it the attention of the non-Jewish world, and thus brought the Jewish masses to a recognition of their own national dignity. A revival of national and cultural autonomy had been preached by Jews to Jews for many years. But it was Herzl who, realizing that no yoke can be shaken off dialectically, brought this revival out of the field of abstract discussion into the realm of action. Our national movement would probably have persisted even if Herzl had never appeared upon the Jewish scene; however, it would have remained introspective in character and dwarfish in stature, stunted for lack of room for expansion. Herzl knew that it was not enough for the concept of nationalism to be deeply rooted in the hearts of the Jewish masses—that the seedling could not develop properly if no provision were made for outward growth, for shoots and branches.

Yet it was not enough to bring the Jewish national movement into the light of international politics. It is true that the scarcely viable plant needed the life-bringing rays of public recognition, as well as the winds of opposition to strengthen its fibers. Great caution was necessary, however, not to expose it to excessively strong tempests that might snap its delicate stalk. Under the political conditions then prevailing in Europe any too militant attempt to rehabilitate the Jewish nation would have been disastrous. It was a period of subterranean political unrest, when hidden currents of national revolt and international rivalry flowed under the smooth surface of apparent peace. Had Herzl's program contained the faintest trace of open rebellion against the oppressors of the Jewish people his efforts to gain the support of the great Western nations would inevitably have miscarried. Nor, for that matter, would the Jewish masses—incapable of violence after the centuries of their subjugation—have accepted him as their leader.

MORRIS ROTHENBERG

But it was as a peaceful emancipator that Herzl appeared before his people. His was a policy of conciliation—sometimes unsuccessful, perhaps, but always consistent. Force of arms played no part in his plans. Political parleys envisaging a pacific solution of the Jewish problem—yes. But never did he seriously consider a military invasion of Palestine, or an attempt to liberate East European Jewry through violence. His was the policy of peaceful penetration of the Homeland, of counteracting anti-Semitism by means of the restoration of the national dignity of Jewry.

Thus he stood midway between the "cultural" Zionists and the few but vociferous exponents of "direct action." The former would have kept Zionism on the plane of a purely internal movement, a movement which, though it would awaken the Jewish masses to a realization of their own worth, would never have led to any practical realization of the Zionist ideal—because no national endeavor can be successful without international recognition. If, on the other hand, the advocates of "direct action" had had their way, Zionism would have been crushed even more effectively than the other nationalist movements of the time. For the European powers would never have countenanced or even permitted a movement that might have encouraged

: irredentists of other national groups; moreover, :h a course taken by the Jews—contemned, desed aliens in every country—would have aroused h boundless indignation and led to such merciless risals that the germ of Jewish national revival ght have been killed forever.

\ctually, therefore, Herzl's was the only course ich could lead to the final goal of Jewish nationsm. This was not always clear to his contemaries; nor, for that matter, is it realized by all the nists of the present day. Our ranks are still not : of those who dream of military invasions and iquests, who chafe under the curbs imposed upon ir zeal by the spiritual heirs of Herzl. Nor is re a dearth of others—though these do not call mselves Zionists—who refuse to acknowledge olitical" Zionism; who, though now forced to ognize the necessity for the establishment of a vish Homeland in Palestine, and to grant its ultite success, still insist upon regarding all Jewish ivity in that direction from the philanthropic cultural points of view. Neither camp realizes t the logical pursuit of its aims would never have ught the Jewish Homeland into the domain of iality—that the one course would have rendered movement abortive, while the other would have prevented its ever attaining proportions of sufficient significance to enable it to persist for any considerable period.

It was Herzl who had the courage to present the plan of Jewish rehabilitation to princes and statesmen—it was Herzl whose sense of expediency led him to formulate his demands in an acceptable manner. He knew intuitively what could be expected. The charter for which he asked the Sultan seemed an impossible ideal during Herzl's lifetime. But less than a decade and a half after his death it was realized; and now, only a quarter of a century since Herzl made his last efforts, we already see the fruits of his dreams and labors.

Positive political action, peaceful penetration and colonization of the Homeland, recognition of cultural aims in the plan for its development—these were the principles which made Theodor Herzl the deliverer of his people. His memory is revered not only because he brought the century-old dream of Jewish nationalism considerably nearer realization, but—and perhaps principally—because he overcame the cringing humility so long characteristic of the Jewish spirit in its relations with the outer world, and revived the sense of its own dignity in the heart of Jewry.

He Gave Us a Goal

By JOSEF SEIDENER

he author of this reminiscence was one of the first adherents of the eve Zionist movement. He accompanied Herzl to Palestine and was f the delegation to meet the Kaiser, with whom, as an engineer, he dis-'d Palestine water power development.

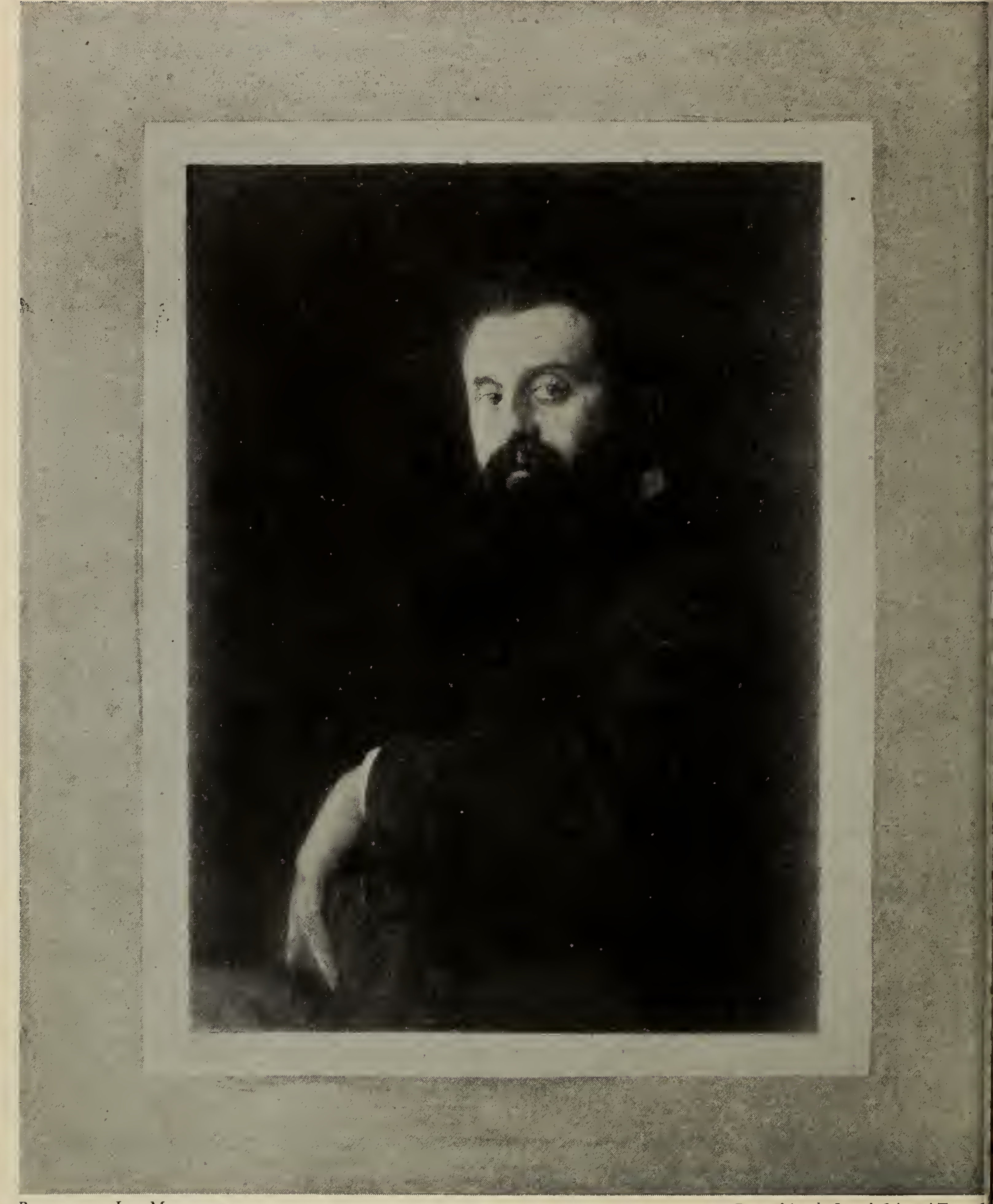
MY acquaintance with Herzl began with the publication of his *Judenstaat*. At that time, in the early 'nineties, a small group of oveve Zionists used to meet every week in the clubom of a Viennese cafè, where each of us would ire his modest knowledge of Palestine with the ier members.

)f all those who attended these meetings I was the ly one who knew Palestine at first hand. Thus ound eager listeners to my reports and descriptions, hough my views concerning the political situation the Jewish colonies of the period were none too timistic. We cherished no illusions as to the ure of the Jewish colonies in Palestine. The struction of all development and progress by the rkish Government, the vicinity of disease-ridden lages of *fellahin*, the frequency of highway rob-y and theft both by day and by night, and other :h unpleasant circumstances were depressing in their :ct upon us. We realized clearly that under such iditions any public avowal of political or historic irations would make us appear ridiculous in the :s of the world, both Jewish and non-Jewish.

3ut the great depression of that period contributed to the profound joy with which we greeted the unexpected publication of a pamphlet entitled *Der Judenstaat*. Who was the author of that daring title —who had the audacity to proclaim that word publicly, to display it in a book-shop? Even to-day, after the Declaration, one does not speak of a Jewish State.

At the time Herzl was still unknown to many of us. It was only later that we sought out everything he had ever written. But at the moment the task before us was to circulate the book. A small group of Russian-speaking adherents undertook to translate the *Judenstaat* into Russian; four of us, I among them, completed the task—and then were unable to find a publisher for the translation in all of Russia. Indeed, it was necessary for us to raise the money to cover the cost of publication before the book finally appeared in print.

At first it required considerable effort to persuade Herzl to join us in our work. He considered his task finished with the publication of his pamphlet; the execution of his project was to be taken over by men active in practical and political life. Not until he realized that none of us would dare attempt this did he come over to us. But when he did come he immediately became our leader. Despite all obstacles he made of our old Utopian dream of a Jewish Homeland a definite goal which we might hope to attain.



PORTRAIT BY LEO MIELZINER *Painted for the Jewish Colonial Trust C*

Through Artists' Eyes

The Portraits of Herzl as Revelations of the Man

By LIONEL S. REISS

r. Lionel S. Reiss, painter, etcher and illustrator, who is known for tudies of Jewish types and ghetto places, has made a study of the aits of Herzl with a view to determining their value as estimates of eader. So much has been said and written of the extraordinary appeal erzl's appearance and bearing, that these portraits have the value of ric records: they are the nearest approach that posterity will have to ysterious personal magnetism of Herzl.

N the histories of human movements, in periods of social readjustments, the artist has had an important part to play. His records in stone, in it or in print are frequently the only memorials to the historian and philosopher. All art tends ards the perpetuation and the expression of its e. An Assyrian relief or a granite carving on the articulates the philosophic, the religious or the sical position in human life at those periods. look at a marble by the hand of Phidias and we the spiritual sum of Greek culture. Such works ify the slow stages in the struggle of a race towards ection and through them we glimpse the long con-ous line of effort from darkness to the final summation.

he leaders of these awakenings have been per-iated in niches, on walls and on canvas—and their nesses affect the beholders and stir the memories iations. They are heroes of their race, protago-s in the sagas of the future.

he Zionist movement sent a creative wind through world of Jewish art and the er became at once the sub-of its talents. Here was a ect indeed. The Jewish ts recognized instinctively tremendous import of the and the moment. A flood ew enthusiasm and energy ged through the studios. ettes were scraped and els sharpened, and many nts found themselves only he inspiration of Zionism. re were some who packed r belongings and settled on soil of their forefathers, e to take root and create; e to breathe in the spiritual tage which is theirs. And ast the Jewish artist had in a *Jewish* tradition and a *sh* art.

he appeal of Theodor Herzl, physical man, to the artist, delight and inspiration awakened by his appearance, is evident in the numerous portraits of the Leader. Each likeness of Herzl that I have seen shows another facet of this many-sided genius, and every artist perpetuated a likeness that differs only in the artist's own life and experience. The artists who have portrayed Herzl have done well towards posterity and they will no doubt survive in the memory of the race. They have portrayed one of mankind's great leaders.



LIONEL S. REISS

I have selected only five artists' work. Space, time and the difficulty of obtaining other artists' work has made it impossible to include many excellent portraits of Herzl.

The work of Ephraim Moses Lilien at this late date needs little heraldry. His place in Jewish art is high and very definite. Lilien was born in a Galician Ghetto and as a young man settled in Berlin. From the modest bread-and-butter occupation of sign-painting, Lilien developed his genius into one of the most loved of Jewish artists of his generation. His many illustrated books are in the homes of thousands. In his early drawings, Lilien had but a vague idea of design and drawing. He seems to have wandered under the influence of Walter Crane or Aubrey Beardsley without quite finding himself. It was just about this period that the Jewish communities began to speak the name Herzl. Lilien went to Basle and there heard Herzl and his whole life took on a surer footing. Guided by a firmer hand, his designs took on a strong Hebraic tinge. His Hellenic assimilation moved on to a new point—the union with Hebraic spirit. And Zionism hereafter became a passion to him. This is evident in his design "*Die Erschaffung des Menchen*" from Morris Rosenfeld's *Lieder des Ghetto*. In this design Lilien pictures Herzl at the extreme left, for the harp-bearing angel in attendance is none other than he. Lilien was so filled with the worship of Herzl that when he read Rosenfeld's poem a natural instinct impelled him to choose the leader as the type of likeness of his Maker. It is a beautiful and sensitive design. The figure of Herzl, with harp in hand, has

the dignity of a god and the gentleness of a poet.

But it is in the stained-glass window design for the B'nai Brith in Hamburg that Lilien's idea of Herzl takes fullest form. His reverence for the founder of Zionism has made him elevate Herzl to the position of a Moses, a new hope for a people scattered in the modern Mizraim. In this design Lilien prophesied the great rôle that Herzl would play in the dreams of our people; and the prophecy is being fulfilled. Lilien shows Herzl standing on a mount, the Tablets of the Law in his hand. When one looks upon the beautiful arrangement of the design one senses the deep power that Lilien must have possessed, to convey in such simple terms so heroic a thought. There is about it the silent pride of truth and conviction. It is a figure born of the word of God, coming into a world of chaos. This design by Lilien should be duplicated in every Jewish community and so placed that the youth of the day may be inspired. It is an artistic record which is destined to live.

Hermannl Struck, one of the artist Chalutzim, brought with him to Palestine one of the most sensitive talents in Jewish art. His etchings and drawings of Jewish subjects show Struck's complete immersion in Jewish life. His *Ostjüdisches Antlitz* is known wherever Jews live. He has traveled through the pales and ghettos of Eastern Europe and with his deep sympathy and understanding he has recorded the spirit of the Galuth. In his portrait of Herzl, Struck has stressed the expression of the Galuth across the brow of the leader. To Struck, at the time he made this fine etching, Herzl appeared as the bearer of the many woes of Israel. His interpretation of Herzl seems to me to be that of a father. Deep pity and sorrow has been etched into the noble profile. The deep-set eyes touched with paternal sentiment gaze back into the Diaspora with yearning and sorrow for a homeless people. This etching portrays a brooding Herzl mourning a lost Zion: not a man of action, but a contemplative Herzl, soul at rest, steeling himself for heroic labor. And if Struck was sentimental in his etching of Herzl, he is but echoing the feelings of his own heart and of the hearts of millions towards the father of Zionism.

Boris Schatz, head of the Bezalel School in Palestine, has modeled a profile relief of Herzl. Schatz has always seemed to me to be eminently better fitted as a teacher than as a creative artist. His best energies went into the founding of Bezalel. In launching this school in Palestine, Schatz has accomplished a creative feat in itself. It is a rare teacher who can himself create works of art. There have been few Giottos and Da Vincis and I have prayed for a Giotto in Jewish art in our day. But Schatz, though his gifts are limited, is a sound craftsman and in his head of Herzl he gives us a likeness of the leader. It seems to me that in this plaque Schatz had no other desire in mind nor any other idea than to model a likeness of Herzl. Though Schatz is an ardent Zionist his interpretation of Herzl is without a



Stained Glass Window Design for B'nai Brith [of]
Hamburg by E. M. Lilien

personal viewpoint. Schatz seems to me to ha[ve] always been inhibited in his attempts at art. [His] early struggles in attaining craftsmanship and tec[h]nical skill have cramped his sense of expression. Th[e] inhibitions have had the less chance to leave h[im] since his mind is ever occupied with the spreading [of] technique to others. Art schools can never ma[ke] artists. At best they can turn out sound craftsm[en]. Craftsmanship may father art as talent has v[ery] often sired genius. And this portrait is presented [to] the readers with the express purpose of includi[ng] the work of Boris Schatz, who has been primar[ily] interested in furthering Jewish art - a rôle ind[eed] important.

Almost all of Saul Raskin's work has a poetic se[nse] of decoration. His old synagogues are sonnets [in] color. His landscapes of Palestine are graceful [and] romantic lyrics. His drawings and water-col[ors] suggest subtle Oriental nuances. Saul Raskin's w[ork] is that of a poet who would recreate the world to [his] own design. And Raskin pictured Herzl in

xquisite miniature as another poet who labored ɔng and hard to recreate the Jewish world in the ;ionist design. There is fundamental kinship among ll creators. Whether their fields be painting or olitical diplomacy. The only difference is the ıétier. The organization of elements that go into painting and the organization of a far-flung system f political threads stem from the same artistic nd creative roots. This miniature of Herzl by Saul .askin is small in areas but its thousands of minute trokes, so well organized, make the finished work a armonious tribute to the great Zionist.

Almost twenty-five years ago, in the city of Paris, .eo Mielziner painted his portrait of Herzl. Mielıner, the son of the famous Dr. Moses Mielziner, was ne of the first of the Jewish American artists to :spond to the Zionist call. He journeyed to the rst Basle Congress and was thrilled by the perınality of its leader. But Leo Mielziner's American rigin and continental training saw in the founder f Zionism a man of the world, a man of ideas and f resourceful action. His masterful portrait pictures Herzl with a solid realism looking the tremendous fficulties of Zionism squarely and serenely in the ce. There is a princely poise in the black-bearded :ad. There is a natural ease and a graciousness of anner that could fit in with any surroundings. ıis is a portrait of a true leader, a strong captain, man whom destiny would choose for an important task. Mielziner knew Herzl in Paris and knew him as a charming and entertaining personality. Here was a man who could deal with the best diplomatic brains on their own level. And this portrait of Herzl comes from an artist who has a rare gift of stating facts simply and realistically. And it seems to me that this portrait of the founder of Zionism comes nearest to the true Herzl. It is without sentimentalism, without romanticism; it is purely an intellectual conception by an artist who himself has the selective discrimination between fact and fancy and whose training and insight have carried him far in his art. In this portrait of Herzl we see the man who has left his impress on time and on his race. We have here a true record without overstatement. Here is a portrait of great value to Jewish posterity. It is a beautiful portrayal of a man who was able to stir world-wide Jewry from hopelessness and mold it into a strong political unit in world affairs.

Leopold Pilichowski, the internationally known painter of Jewish subjects, painted a full-length picture of Herzl standing on a mount overlooking the Holy Land. To one who has been touched so often by the fine pictures of Pilichowski in his sincere characterization of Eastern Jewish life, this portrayal of Herzl is not quite stimulating. At first glance it seems strange that the artist who painted so much of the pathos of Jewish life should in this portrayal of Herzl stress the obvious . . . the gentleman of

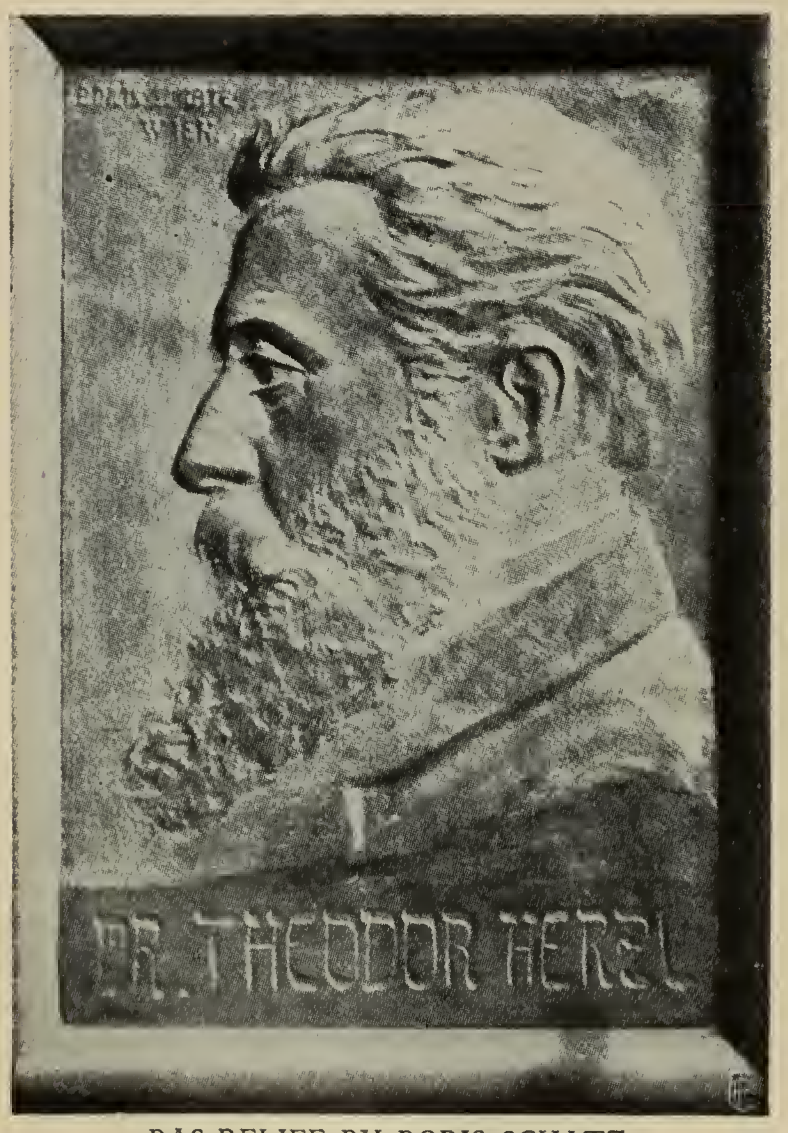


"DIE ERSCHAFFUNG DES MENSCHEN"
Design by E. M. Lilien for Morris Rosenfeld's "Lieder des Ghetto"

elegance. From my point of view it seems unnecessary to show elegance by stressing the walking-stick painted diagonally across the figure and the gloved hands. Clothes are merely outward signs of a civilized person and in a painting they may or may not be used as symbols of the person that wears them. But we never look for such accessories of fashion as prerequisites in the acceptance of our prophets or leaders, nor do we judge a picture's æsthetic value by what kind of clothes are painted on a portrait. Pilichowski seems to have lost an opportunity in not penetrating beneath the superficialities of clothes and has failed to show us the elegance that naturally belonged to Herzl.

The portrait of Herzl by the Royal Academician Solomon J. Solomon shows us a Herzl at the prime of life. The dark hair and beard, the deep-set poetic eyes, the high and wide forehead, the strong-set nose, a face which typifies the almost perfect features of a Semite. Solomon gives us a spiritually powerful portrayal in his sensitive style. He has caught something of the vigor and freshness of a Herzl who at that time was working tirelessly for a cause that so many called a hopeless Utopia.

The medal designed by M. Mouro shows us a profile of Herzl in bas-relief looking out on a field where a group of Chalutzim are working on the soil of Palestine. The head of Herzl is well modeled



BAS-RELIEF BY BORIS SCHATZ



PORTRAIT BY PILICHOWSKI

and shows excellent craftsmanship. M. Mouro has shown us a suggestion of quiet joy in the open-eyed gaze of Herzl, who sees the fruit of his efforts ripening. This is the only image of Herzl that I have seen that has a touch of joy in the face. It is undoubtedly the best portrait of Herzl on a medal or plaque that has come to my notice.

The owners of original drawings, paintings and etchings of Theodor Herzl, and there are many, should keep them with great care and hand them down as precious heirlooms. If predictions mean anything, I feel certain that in time these portraits will be as rare as Gilbert Stuart's portraits of George Washington and, to the Jewish people and state, just as valuable, artistically and historically.

Benjamin and David

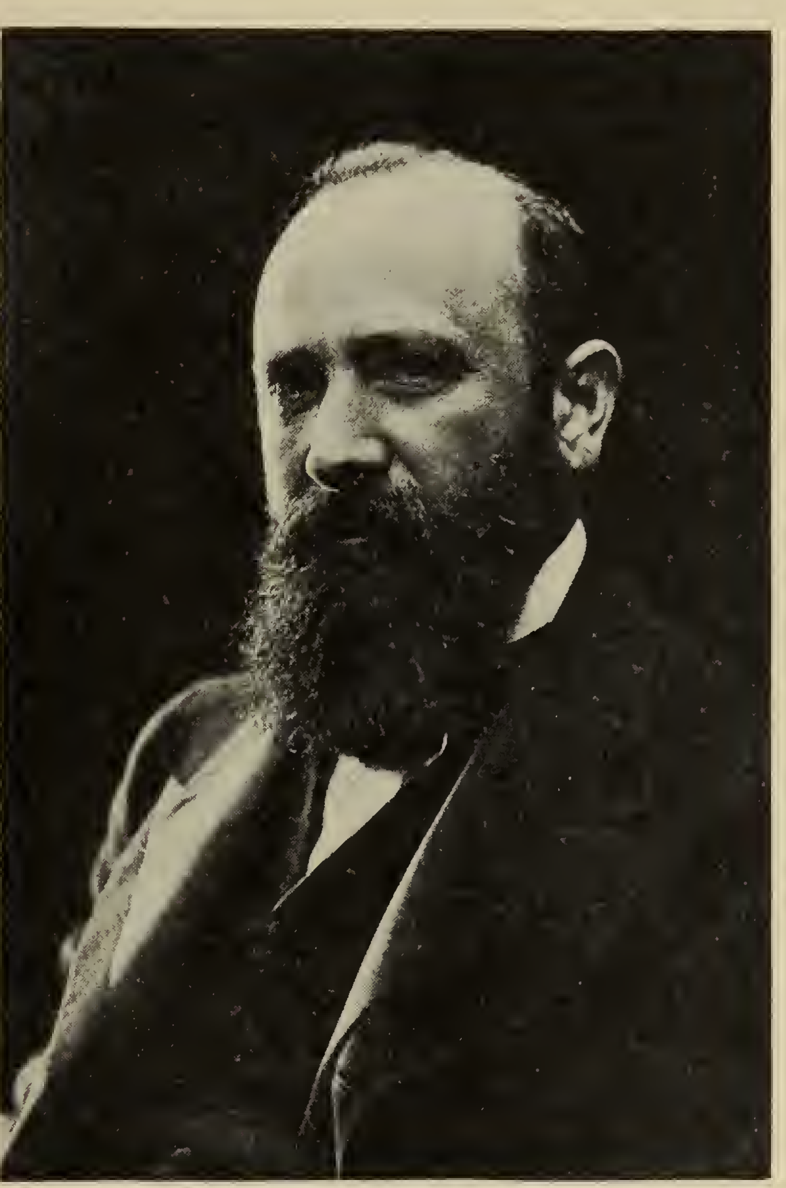
The Story of the Friendship Between Herzl and Wolffsohn

By GERSHON AGRONSKY

While in America there was being raised a monumental memorial to rzl, in the form of the present issue of Herzl Memorial Book, there was icated in Jerusalem recently the building of the National and University rary, the most imposing so far on Mount Scopus, the gift of the Founda- which bears the name of David Wolffsohn, Herzl's successor. It is ropriate that in an issue dedicated to Herzl the devotion and friendship his most loyal disciple should be commemorated.

DAVID WOLFFSOHN was created in the shadow that the coming of Herzl cast. In the glorious lights of Herzl we perceive more than a reflec- n of Wolffsohn's countenance. The *mathmid* who e from a *Yeshiva bachur* tiny Dobriany, in the strict of Kovno, and m a peddler's estate in st Prussia, to wealthy inence in Cologne and e Presidency of the nist Organization, did aspire to be like Herzl. would have despised h aspiration as im- ty. He had no more atic ambition than to low Herzl in life. After adored leader was cken he wanted only e recognized as his ab- viated shadow.

f Wolffsohn, to every 's surprise, but mainly is own, became a great der, it was because ile his acknowledged der lived he wanted hing so much as to be by him. If Wolffsohn ered it was because in e material affairs he ld not follow Herzl's d. Such veneration as had for Herzl few men ieved; and his affec- n for his idol grew th his increasing owledge of the man. The day he had first read zl's *Judenstaat*, Wolffsohn wrote, he had become other man." And another, and a greater, man remained. Wolffsohn, who in life knew his own th and was not the man to stand for any patroniz- , is not being patronized in memory when it is gested of him that he grew in mental stature with y touch of his irreplaceable teacher. But that he continued to grow after Herzl's death, discovering in himself oratorical and executive powers he had not suspected were his, cannot be doubted. Between the time he laughed in painful humility and self-deprecating irony at Nordau's proposal that he should succeed Herzl, and the time he wrote in his will that the inscription on his tombstone should simply read *Nachfolger Herzls*, there was the time when Wolffsohn *ordered* Nordau to take the presidency—Nordau, whom, next to Herzl, Wolffsohn esteemed more than any one else in the movement.



DAVID WOLFFSOHN
From a Photograph Which Hangs in Herzl's Study

Fortifying himself with the conviction that he was doing what and as Herzl would have had him do, Wolffsohn was able triumphantly to face and weather every storm, and to atone for unconcealed deficiencies of leadership in a movement which within the memory of all had only just trembled at the breath of life breathed into its nostrils by Herzl. Ever accentuating the contrast between him whom he called the "eagle" and an orphaned generation of men with feet of clay, Wolffsohn never groveled before his own contemporaries. He was proud to proclaim that he was incomparably smaller than the founder, but so also he thought and said were all his survivors. And once elected, he considered the question of his fitness for the Presidency undebatable. Until a better one was found he meant to remain at his post.

"It is not my fault that you are disappointed, because you expected me to accomplish what Herzl did," he once told the opposition. At a Congress when the fifty-nine delegates who voted against him hissed their disapproval over his re-election, and demonstrated noisily against the 135 who had voted for him, he merely pleaded for quiet: "It has hap-

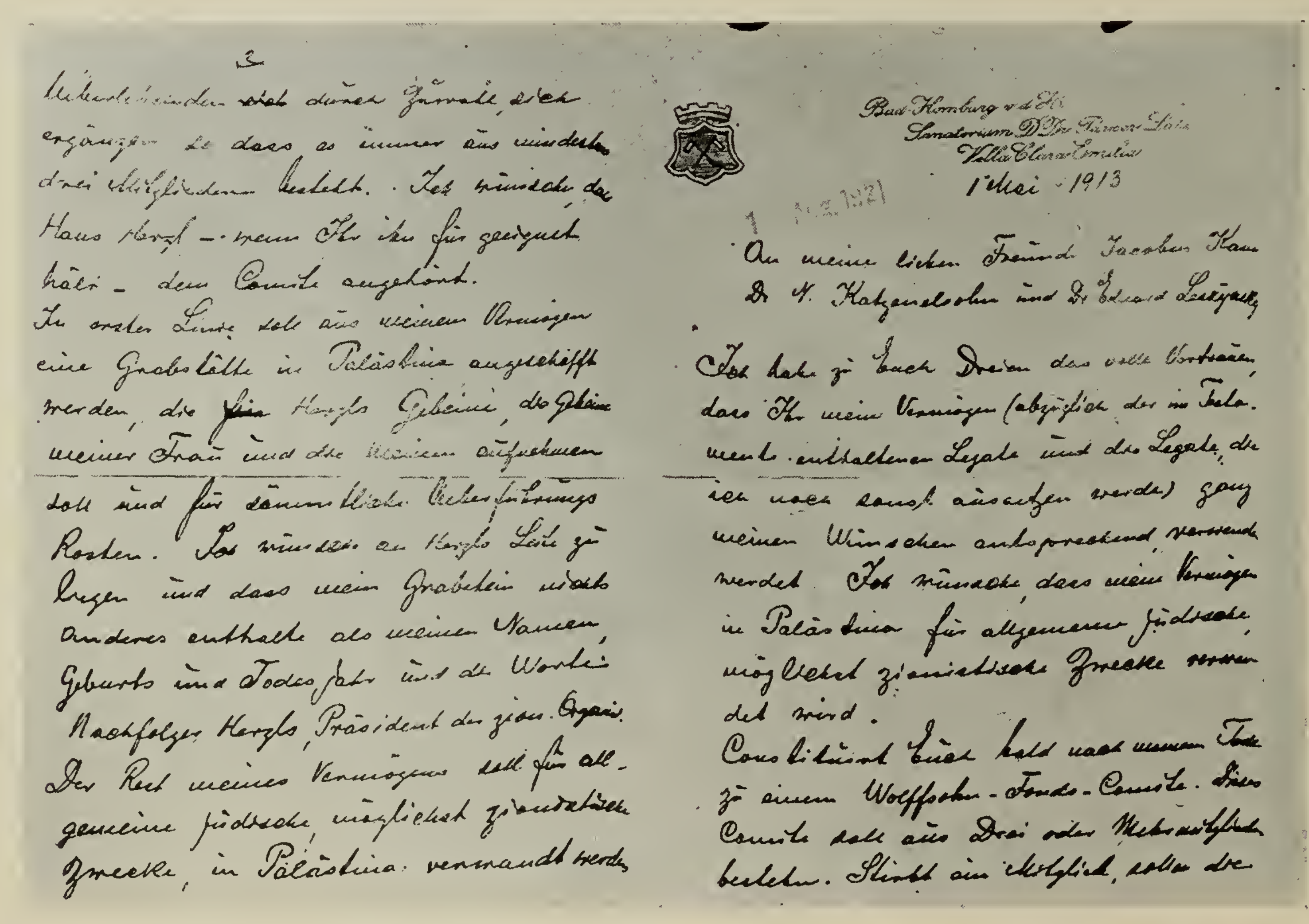
pened," he said. "I shall try to have these fifty-nine votes in my favor at the next Congress."

Overwhelmed finally by the opposition, his heart, like Herzl's, becoming weaker and weaker, he stepped down, but did not retire. He chose Nordau as his successor and kept his eyes fastened on the movement. To the end, Herzl's words: "I rely only on you," were his comfort and his burden. He made himself the guardian of Herzl's heritage and saw to it that it was wisely husbanded. He had patience with every one except those who talked of "practical work" without doing any, those who really wanted only to hinder political action. Goaded by the rebukes and obstructions of the "practical workers," Wolffsohn would shoot an arrow in their direction by asking what practical work had been done since that had not been begun by Herzl. When the practical proposal came from Dr. Ruppin in Palestine to grant what was in those days a very large loan for the first sixty houses in Tel Aviv, it was Wolffsohn, against the advice and ridicule of the practical-minded opposition, who made the appropriation possible.

Wolffsohn saw himself the defender of the Herzl idea and of Herzl's honor, as he, himself childless, was the guardian of Herzl's children. Nothing enraged him so much as attempts to use Herzl to destroy Herzl. He had an answer for those who invoked Herzl's name to justify tactics calculated to undermine the Herzlian program. The would-be monopolists of Herzlian ideology he chaffered, as our Revisionist friends might be bantered to-day—that Herzl's legitimate heirs were not those who claimed they were, but those who worked to maintain and enlarge what Herzl had created. . . .

HIS conception of the position of the Zionist Organization was no mere echo of Herzl's. In championing its rights he went even beyond Herzl, and in answering the traducers of the Zionist Organization he employed weapons which Herzl could not have used with the same effect. His "sparkling humor, aggressive irony and Talmudic shrewdness," to quote a very apt description from his most faithful biographer, Dr. Abraham Robinsohn,* helped him to overcome cantankerous critics. Where Herzl might have used logic, Wolffsohn was content to stoop to sarcasm. He knew the Jews better than Herzl did: and he availed himself freely of this knowledge. The apocryphal tale that Mr. Ussishkin had said that Herzl was eminently fit for leadership because, in the first place, he did not know the Jews, in the second, because he did not know Palestine, and in the third, because he did not know Turkey, could not be applied in its entirety to Wolffsohn, who did know the Jews and was acquainted with Palestine.

* *David Wolffsohn*, by Dr. Abraham Robinsohn, 1921, Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin.



Bad Homburg v. d. H.
Villa Clara Emilia
1 Mai 1913

An meine lieben Freunde Jacobus Kann, Dr. N. Katzenelsohn und Dr. Eduard Leszynsky

Ich habe zu Euch Dreien das volle Vertrauen, dass Ihr mein Vermögen (abzüglich der im Testament enthaltenen Legate und der Legate, die ich noch sonst aussetzen werde) ganz meinen Wünschen entsprechend verwenden werdet. Ich wünsche, dass mein Vermögen in Palästina für allgemeine jüdische, möglichst zionistische Zwecke verwendet wird.

Constituiert Euch bald nach meinem Tode zu einem Wolffsohn-Fonds-Comité. Dieses Comité soll aus Drei oder Mehr Mitgliedern bestehen. Stirbt ein Mitglied, sollen die

3

Ueberlebenden sich durch Zuwahl ergänzen, so dass es immer aus mindestens drei Mitgliedern besteht. Ich wünsche, das Haus Herzl — wenn Ihr ihn für geeignet hält — dem Comité angehört.

In erster Linie soll aus meinem Vermögen eine Grabstätte in Palästina angeschafft werden, die Herzls Gebeine, die Gebeine meiner Frau und die meinen aufnehmen soll und für sämmtliche Ueberführungs Kosten. Ich wünsche an Herzls Seite zu liegen und dass mein Grabstein nichts Anderes enthalte als meinen Namen, Geburts und Todesjahr und die Worte Nachfolger Herzls, Präsident der zion. Organis. Der Rest meines Vermögens soll für allgemeine jüdische, möglichst zionistische Zwecke, in Palästina verwandt werden.

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER BY DAVID WOLFFSOHN DIRECTING THAT HIS TOMBSTONE SHOULD BEAR THE INSCRIPTION *Nachfolger Herzls*



HEBREW UNIVERSITY ON MT. SCOPUS
Photograph of models of the group of buildings completed or nearing completion on the elevation overlooking Jerusalem. To the left is the Wolffsohn Library Building and to the right the Chemistry, Mathematics and Physics Buildings

He understood the rôle of the Zionist Organization as "the only real Jewish body which embraces world Jewry, and is therefore entitled to speak on behalf of the whole Jewish people." This was his reply, his only reply, to those who questioned his right to negotiate with Stolypin and Iswolsky concerning the position of Russian Jewry.

His understanding of Zionism was no less far-reaching, no less uncompromising. Until the day he was ostracized, as leaders in ancient Greece were when they threatened to become too powerful—as his biographer suggests—he was the chief tribune of undiluted Zionism. Early in his Zionist career, he battled not unsuccessfully with the B'nai Brith Lodge of Cologne, when a resolution was adopted in language fashionable among Reform Rabbis until but yesterday, that Zionism was "unpatriotic and dangerous." With Dr. Bodenheimer at his side, he wrestled with these angels of destruction until he wrung from them the "concession" that the resolution was not intended to lead to the exclusion of the Zionist brethren from the Lodge. . . . Although eager to mass his erstwhile comrades of the Choveve Zion behind Herzl, he could not resist Herzl's appeal for loyalty to the newly unfurled standard, even if it meant open cleavage. When Herzl's relations with the Choveve Zion became exacerbated, and Herzl wrote that a fight with Zionists was intolerable to him and he must have help, Wolffsohn, tired of trying to compound the differences, of course lined up with Herzl. And when the "National Jewish Union" opposed the spread of the Zionist idea in Germany on the basis of the Basle program, and insisted on the "promotion of Jewish colonies in Palestine and Syria," Wolffsohn decided that "a clear separation is preferable to common but undefined aims." Back in Dobriany he took up the same position in a quarrel between the *Chevrath Schass* and *Chevrath Mischnayess*, a conflict which forced him to leave the village and perhaps caused him to become a President of the Zionist Organization.

THE Herzl-Wolffsohn correspondence shows that though it desolated them both, Wolffsohn opposed Herzl when he believed his idol had erred. The correspondence becomes heart-piercing to both over the questions of the management of the Jewish Colonial Trust. But it is the pain of misunderstandings which lovers' letters breathe. Herzl had insisted on this financial institution being known as the Jewish Colonial Trust. Wolffsohn, although evidently not quite convinced, fought like a lion against the directors who wanted the name changed in order that the Bank might the better be adapted for ordinary business. Wolffsohn held that "capital and business are necessarily international, but the Bank must be national, Jewish national." He carried out Herzl's wishes and was rewarded for it in a single passage in a letter from Herzl.

"*Mein guter Daade, Dank. Sie haben brav gearbeitet.*"

This was more than enough for Wolffsohn, who yet on another occasion, being the first to whom Herzl confided the Uganda project, did not hesitate to cross Herzl. He began by dismissing the project derisively, as an *Ir Miklot*. Then, solemnly, he applied a test: "Will *you* go to Uganda?" "No." "Then it is settled. We must help our people to the kind of home which will also be our home."

His Zionism remained always crystal clear, always fundamental. "Zionism does not strive merely to establish a home for the poor and homeless Jews; to the others, who have found a second home, Zionism offers much."

Like Herzl he believed that the idea of the reconstruction of the Jewish State is "much too great, altogether too lofty, to be borne by any individual." Zionism, he insisted, was "not only a people's movement, but the people itself." He prophesied: "In it all tendencies and opinions can be represented if we stand on the Basle program." And again: "To me Zionism is more than an idea, more than the Hebrew language, which I love; for Zionism is my life, my all."

Unyielding in matters of principle, conscious that no leader in Zionism reaps his reward in lifetime—if public gratitude is the expected reward—he who recommended that no one should be allowed to remain President of the Zionist Organization longer than two years if his heart and life are to be spared—he was generous to opponents and tolerant towards



HERZL AND WOLFFSOHN RETURNING FROM EGYPT

honest antagonists. "The Administration knows no victors or vanquished," an inspired statement of his read after the stormy Ninth Congress, during which he had appealed as always for "discipline and subordination." Wealthy *baal habaith* that he was, he appreciated the part of the worker in the Palestine scheme of things. *Unsere poalim* were always in his thoughts. Without Jewish labor our entire work would be built on sand, he believed. "The well-to-do will come, needing only a lead, but if we have any national means it is obvious that they must in the first instance be employed in the colonization of labor."

Sardonically he contemplated his end. The Young Turk revolution, which necessarily meant the postponement of the Basle program, was in itself a deathblow to this true Herzlian. He began to lay his plans to settle in Palestine, but he knew that he was "imitating" Herzl even in the cause of his physical decline—"but in this respect, thoroughly," he wrote; for the failure of his heart was quite as marked as Herzl's.

He then began a review of his own career, his early struggle for a livelihood and his material ascendancy, of which this Russian immigrant was justifiably proud. "Then came my greatest fortune: to work shoulder to shoulder with Herzl for my people and, finally, to be granted the privilege to guard, and possibly also to augment, his heritage."

Never failing to own how much he owed to Herzl, he probably never suspected how much Herzl owed him. The ripening of their friendship was his only prize. He began by writing to Herzl in 1896, addressing him formally and deferentially as *Sehr Geehrter Herr Doktor* and signing himself: *Hochschätzender und verehrender*. By stages he achieved *Lieber Herr Doktor*. Within less than two years Herzl wrote to him *Lieber Freund*, and Herzl became t him, six months later, *Theur Freund*. Within two years Her came, from signing himself "Wit Zion's greetings," to *Ihr treuerg bener*. Five years later Herzl wrot *Mein guter Daade*, and signed hin self *Benjamin*. Wolffsohn, th elder of the two, never dared t approach greater intimacy tha *Lieber Freund*.

To *Daade* Herzl confided every thing—his disappointments an also his persuasion that had he t do it all over again he would hav brought the same sacrifices fo Zionism as before. *Daade* is tol when Herzl is dying: "*Lebe woh Daade, und vergiss mich nicht*"— quite superfluous petition!

Wolffsohn often lectured Herz cautioned him against trying t understand business methods, r monstrated as a father or a much older brothe and although towards the end he permitted himse the use of the familiar *du* in German, he never calle him in his letters by the first name in Hebrew, whic he perhaps himself revived for Herzl. When disagre ments over the Bank reached the boiling-over poi and Wolffsohn begged to be relieved, he wrote, " wish to go, but before I go I want to see that yo have at least one man who will be to you and wit you what I am."

Neither Wolffsohn nor Herzl ever found for Her the man who wanted as little (or as much) as *Daa* required: "What do I ask for myself? That yo work succeed and that I never gain anything fro it for myself." ("*Dass Dein Werk gelinge und da ich niemals etwas für mich davon haben soll.*")

The friendship between these two men is one the epics of Zionism, a bond that could have bee created only by the ideal which motivated them bot and that was strengthened by the sterling qualiti of their personalities.

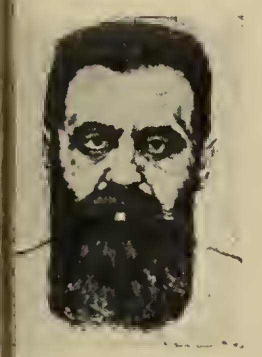


BIO-CHEMISTRY BUILDING OF HEBREW UNIVERSITY

The Arts Portray Herzl

A Description of the Many Forms in Which Herzl Is Remembered

By M. NARKESS



\N ETCHING BY
ERMANN STRUCK

Probably no other Jewish figure has been the subject of so many forms of artistic reproduction as Theodor Herzl. Painting, sculpture, engraving, and even the humbler media of medals and placards have been utilized to portray the founder of the Zionist movement. The author of this article, who describes some of the better-known representations of Herzl, is Curator of the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem.

IN the homes of the Jewish masses the picture of Herzl won a position of honor even reater than that formerly occupied by the photoraph of Montefiore. The latter was merely a meditor and financier; Herzl, however, was the redeemer f his people, a majestic figure, revered and admired. Iis face was beloved by Jews throughout the world, nd his personality was extolled in songs about the iero who died of wounds reeived in battle. It was due to his, no doubt, that the most opular of Herzl's portraits was he one in which he is reprented as a Messianic figure.

This picture is taken from a hotograph showing Herzl on he bridge spanning the Rhine t Basle; it was executed by ilien at the time of the First ongress—a hasty etching made s a sketch for a painting. In lace of the Rhine we see Migal David on a high hill; and a nultitude of Jews of all stations f life is surging forward toward he leader who, leaning over the anister, sees the realization of his hope. This idea ıspired many artists to paint Herzl the Redeemer. . Roukhomovsky painted him gazing down upon mass of Jews led by the Daughter of Judæa—Herzl evering their chains and raising the flag.

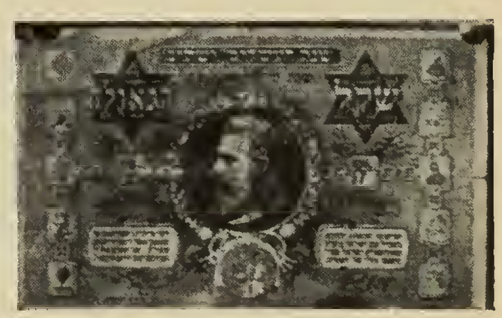
FILIGREE WORK IN THE BEZALEL MUSEUM

A popular branch of pseudo-art reproduced the keness of Herzl in "micrography"; that is, the entire hotograph was made with tiny letters taken from he words of either *Altneuland* or the *Judenstaat*. 'or a time there was hardly a middle-class Jewish ome in Russia or Poland that did not have a picture f this type hanging on its walls.

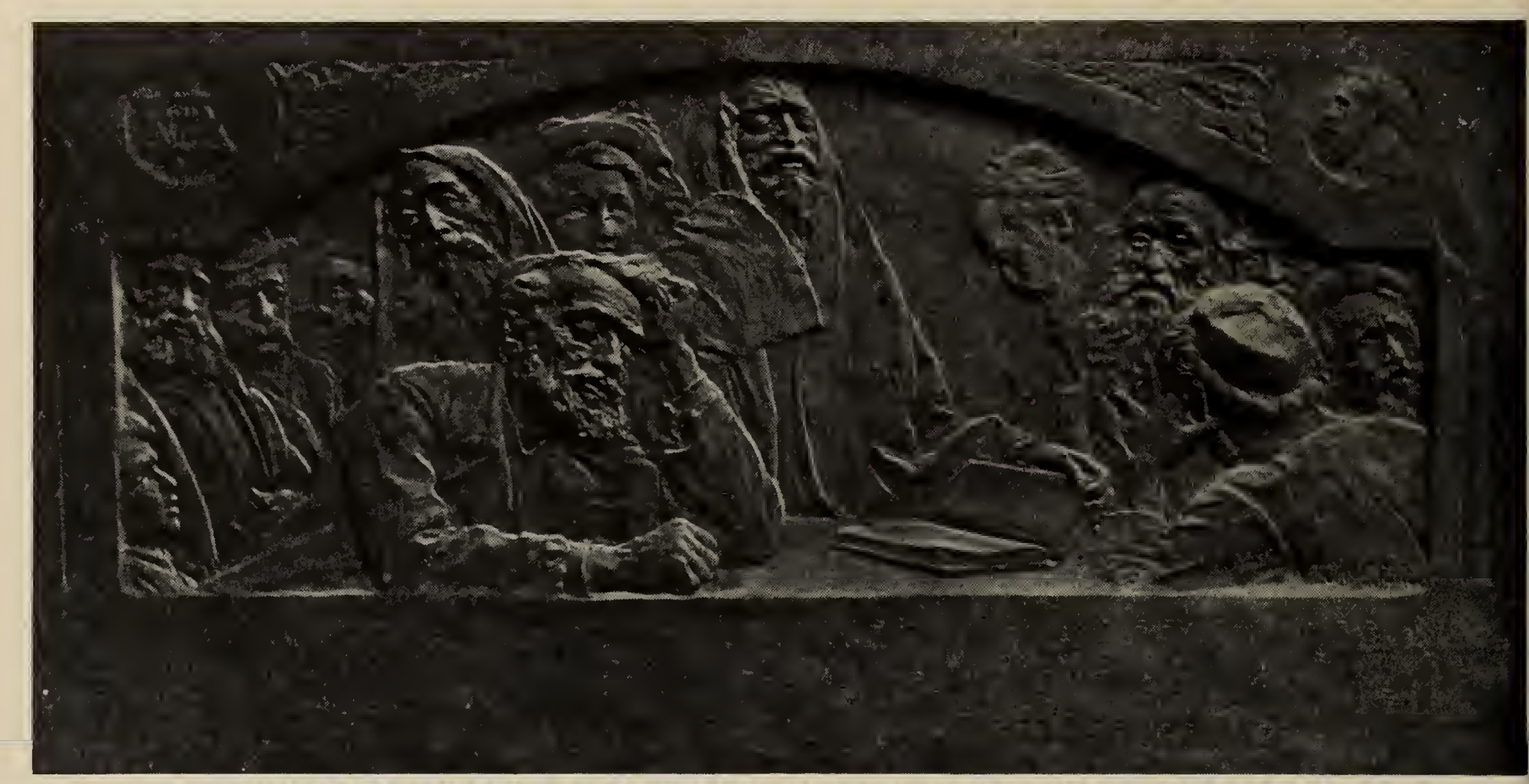
It was really after his death, however, that Herzl ecame canonized, so to speak, in pictures and busts. Iis photograph became the *motif* for popular art, eplacing other popular *motifs* like the Mosque of Omar or the Wailing Wall. The handsome appearance of Herzl had ever made him a good subject for an artist. His friend Ber, a sculptor of note, made his bust when he was still a young man, and his associate Struck carved his likeness on a brass tablet. Schatz modeled him after he had proposed the establishment of the Bezalel School in Jerusalem. Lilien took Herzl as the prototype of the ancient Jew, and painted him as Moses, Jacob, Joshua, an angel, etc. Taken as a whole, he became the symbol of the regenerated Jew, with all the attributes of physical as well as spiritual beauty. The Russian Jewish sculptress Theresa Feodorovna Reis, who lives in Austria, tells of her first meeting with Herzl. Her artistic sense distinguished in him the symbol of the entire Jewish race; and when she sculptured her statue of *The Lawgiver* she used Herzl as the model.

It has been suggested that a monument should be erected to Herzl in Vienna, to be executed by Sandor Yaray, the sculptor who made the bust now standing in the Hebrew University. The Jewish community of Budapest is also thinking of erecting such a monument. The custom of erecting monuments to Herzl has extended even to America, a bust by Professor Schatz having been acquired by the Herzl School of Chicago.

Immediately after the death of Herzl, when sorrow pervaded all classes of Jewry, there were created some works of art interesting for their manner as well as for their artistic value. The Parisian sculptor Shlomo Roukhomovsky gives us an *haut-relief* of Herzl as he commands the House of Israel. He is shown seated on his deathbed, his hand raised. Around him are gathered Jews from all ranks of life, and he is enjoining them to guard the creation for which he has suffered and died. Schatz has commemorated the death of Herzl in two engravings. One pictures the analogy between Moses and Herzl, showing Moses



A SHEKEL SURREPTITIOUSLY SOLD IN SOVIET RUSSIA IN 1919



YISKOR FOR HERZL—A BAS-RELIEF BY PROF. BORIS SCHATZ OF BEZALEL

with lifted hand as he looks across the hills and sees the land for which he fought but which he is not to enter. In the second engraving, called *Yiskor*, he portrays the grief of Jewry at the death of Herzl: A group of Jews is gathered in a synagogue, lamenting the passing of the revered leader.

It is not only through the higher forms of art, such as painting, sculpture and engraving, that the likeness of Herzl has been preserved for the Jewish people, but also through the humbler medium of medals and placards. Hundreds of medals were struck in his honor, although most of them have no artistic value. Among those deserving notice are the first medals struck by Schatz and those of S. Kretschmer of Vienna, who once studied at the Bezalel School. A new plate has just been engraved by the young Bezalel artist M. Murro. Another Bezalel artist, M. Gur-Aryeh, has just distinguished himself by stamping a fine medal of Herzl. Another medal has been struck for the celebration of the founding of Rishon le Zion, with Herzl on one side, and a view of the colony on the other. A medal was also struck in memory of the Second Congress representing the leaders surrounding the central figure of Herzl.

The likeness of Herzl has become so much a part of our national aspirations and hopes that it has become a custom to display his picture at every Zionist gathering. It is also customary to wear pins and other forms of adornment bearing the head of Herzl. In Poland Zionists print placards featuring the head of Herzl, using them for Zionist propaganda and in connection with the Herzl Forest. The Keren Kayemeth has also distributed the picture of Herzl woven in silk, as well as popular photographs. And we find the likeness of Herzl even on stamps.

The masses are especially fond of cheap rugs showing either Herzl's head or his full figure. Another popular medium is the inexpensive statuette. One of these bears the signature of Herzl, made shortly before his death.

Bezalel has taken the protrait of Herzl as an artistic *motif* for rugs, filigree work, etc. The cedar which Herzl planted is pictured on an inexpensive rug which has been distributed among thousands.

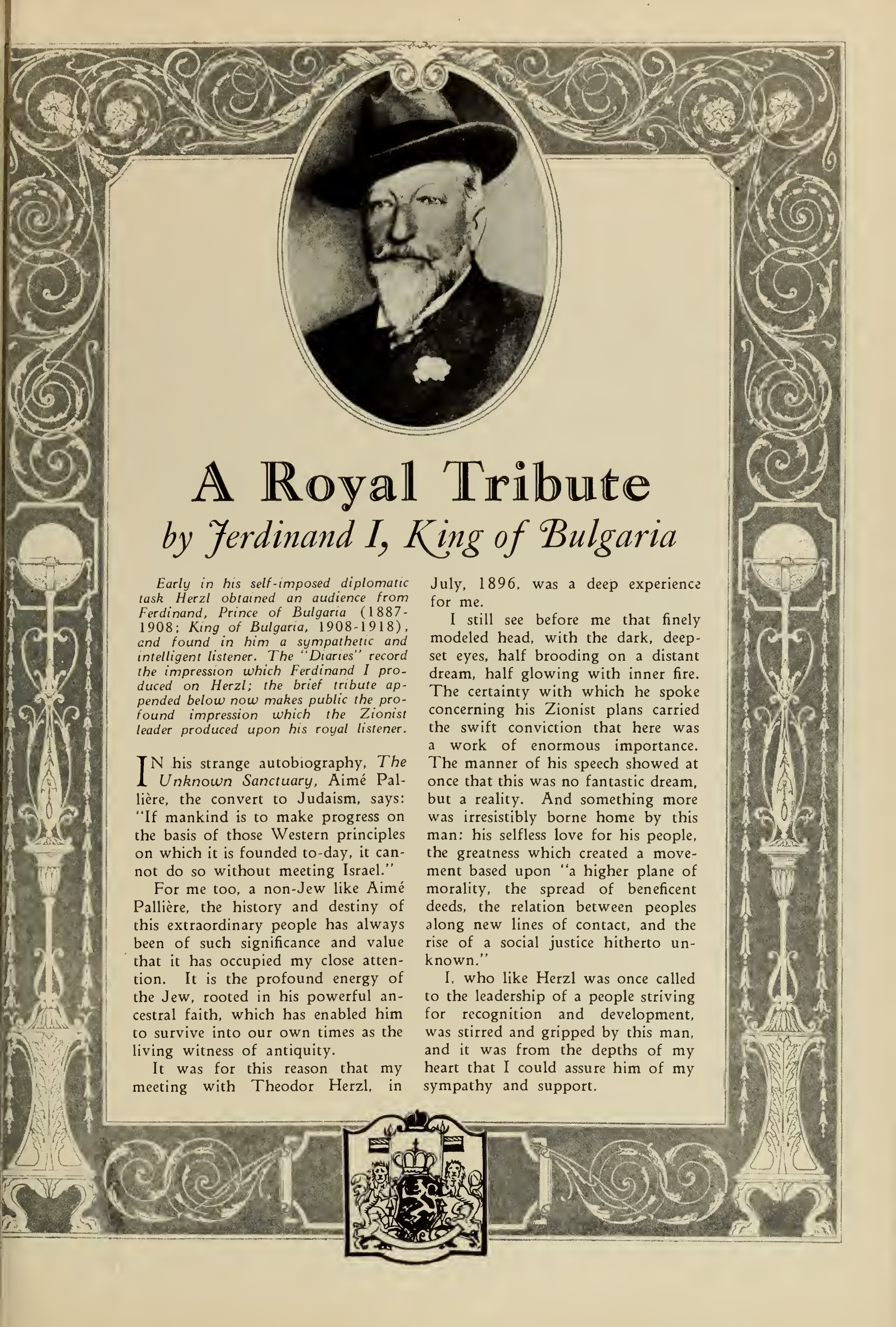
Small tapestries representing the head of Herzl are to be found in many Jewish homes throughout the world, and are used as wall decorations.

Perhaps one of the best-known paintings of Herzl is Pilichowski's life-size representation of him. While it does not compare, in nobility of conception or artistry of execution, with the portraits of Lilien and Hermann Struck, it has gained considerable popularity nonetheless. This picture, which was commissioned by the Zionist Congress and was intended as a tribute to the memory of the great leader, now hangs in Jerusalem, in the room which the Zionist Executive there has given over to the reproduction of Herzl's study.



Bezalel, Jerusalem

ON THE RHINE BRIDGE, BASLE



A Royal Tribute

by Ferdinand I, King of Bulgaria

Early in his self-imposed diplomatic task Herzl obtained an audience from Ferdinand, Prince of Bulgaria (1887-1908; King of Bulgaria, 1908-1918), and found in him a sympathetic and intelligent listener. The "Diaries" record the impression which Ferdinand I produced on Herzl; the brief tribute appended below now makes public the profound impression which the Zionist leader produced upon his royal listener.

IN his strange autobiography, *The Unknown Sanctuary*, Aimé Pallière, the convert to Judaism, says: "If mankind is to make progress on the basis of those Western principles on which it is founded to-day, it cannot do so without meeting Israel."

For me too, a non-Jew like Aimé Pallière, the history and destiny of this extraordinary people has always been of such significance and value that it has occupied my close attention. It is the profound energy of the Jew, rooted in his powerful ancestral faith, which has enabled him to survive into our own times as the living witness of antiquity.

It was for this reason that my meeting with Theodor Herzl, in July, 1896, was a deep experience for me.

I still see before me that finely modeled head, with the dark, deep-set eyes, half brooding on a distant dream, half glowing with inner fire. The certainty with which he spoke concerning his Zionist plans carried the swift conviction that here was a work of enormous importance. The manner of his speech showed at once that this was no fantastic dream, but a reality. And something more was irresistibly borne home by this man: his selfless love for his people, the greatness which created a movement based upon "a higher plane of morality, the spread of beneficent deeds, the relation between peoples along new lines of contact, and the rise of a social justice hitherto unknown."

I, who like Herzl was once called to the leadership of a people striving for recognition and development, was stirred and gripped by this man, and it was from the depths of my heart that I could assure him of my sympathy and support.

In Memoriam

I HAVE never known what to admire most in Herzl: the magnificence of his concepts or his rare capacity and love for work. Once he had decided upon the correctness of a course nothing could turn him aside: neither the open nor veiled attacks of his journalistic friends and foes, nor the pettiness and uncomprehending doctrinairism of his immediate Zionist entourage. He worked incessantly—writing feuilletons and plays, directing Zionist activities. As I look back I feel that he must have been certain of meeting a premature death. And he wanted to reach his goal in the brief time left to him—or, at least, to do the most essential things. Hence the furious tempo of his work.

A significant incident took place during the exhumation of his father's body from its first, temporary grave. For reasons explained in his *Diaries* Herzl postponed the purchase of his family plot in the *Döblinger Friedhof* for a year. The task of transferring the body of Jakob Herzl to its permanent resting-place was entrusted to me. Here I would quote some notes I made on that occasion: "Herzl was not present at the exhumation. I had asked him to stay away, because of his weak heart; and he agreed it would be better. But after we had finished Herzl came nonetheless; he had been too restless not to come, he said. He was deeply moved; as he looked down into the grave his figure swayed. Then, suddenly, he said to me: 'Soon—very soon—I, too, shall lie down there.' I drew him away from the grave at once and, taking him for a long walk, attempted to divert his thoughts into more cheerful channels."

Herzl knew that his heart was affected, and frequently told his friends that he would not live long. He suffered his first serious heart attack in London, just before the opening of the Fourth Congress. So severe, indeed, was this attack that we feared he would be unable to attend the Congress. But his will triumphed over his organic weakness; not only did he open and preside over the Congress, but he even insisted upon participating in the exceedingly strenuous discussions concerning the Jewish Colonial Trust.

It was the Sixth Congress, however, which, with its violent attacks upon him, marked the beginning of the tragic end. When a young Russian student there hurled the word "traitor" at him I saw Herzl's face blanch to the lips and his entire body quiver. We took him back to his hotel—but it was quite some time before he had recovered. And when—at the Greater Actions Committee meeting following the Charkhov Conference—he was exposed to a veritable hailstorm of abuse, Herzl collapsed.

His physicians advised him to go to Franzensbad. I escorted him to the railway station; and as we waited for his train there he made a remarkable statement. He had read with great delight of a new victory gained by Kuroki over Kuropatkin. "This," he said, "means the beginning of the collapse of Russia." After a pause he added: "And of Turkey, too. Then the way will be clear for us."

The news from Franzensbad was good, and we in Vienna felt relieved. But not for long. Convalescent, he went to Edlach to recuperate. And this was the end.

A flood of sorrow still wells up in my heart whenever I recall that dreadful night twenty-five years ago—the night before he died. I was staying up with him, as his physician had been forced to retire for some rest. Herzl spoke of many things—of his approaching death, of his children, of the future of his people. At times he would doze off; but soon he would awake with a start. Attempting to quiet and cheer him, I read aloud some letters from his children; while I was still reading he fell asleep once more. Suddenly his fingers plucked nervously at the quilt; he awoke, and said to me: "Listen, Reich—this land here"—and his finger drew a line around a part of the quilt—"the National Fund must buy this land." Then he fell back again into his heavy, restless sleep. But even in his extremity he thought of everything when he was awake. Thus he handed me a letter of thanks he had written to the nurse who had been taking care of him, and asked me to be sure to give it to her.

His true heroism revealed itself just before his death. When his mother came in he greeted her calmly, inquired after her health. Summoning all the forces of his will, he raised himself and gazed at her serenely, smilingly. Then he felt that he had reached the end of his powers. He waved his hand in farewell; his mother left the room. And he sank back into his pillows never to rise again.

A. H. REICH

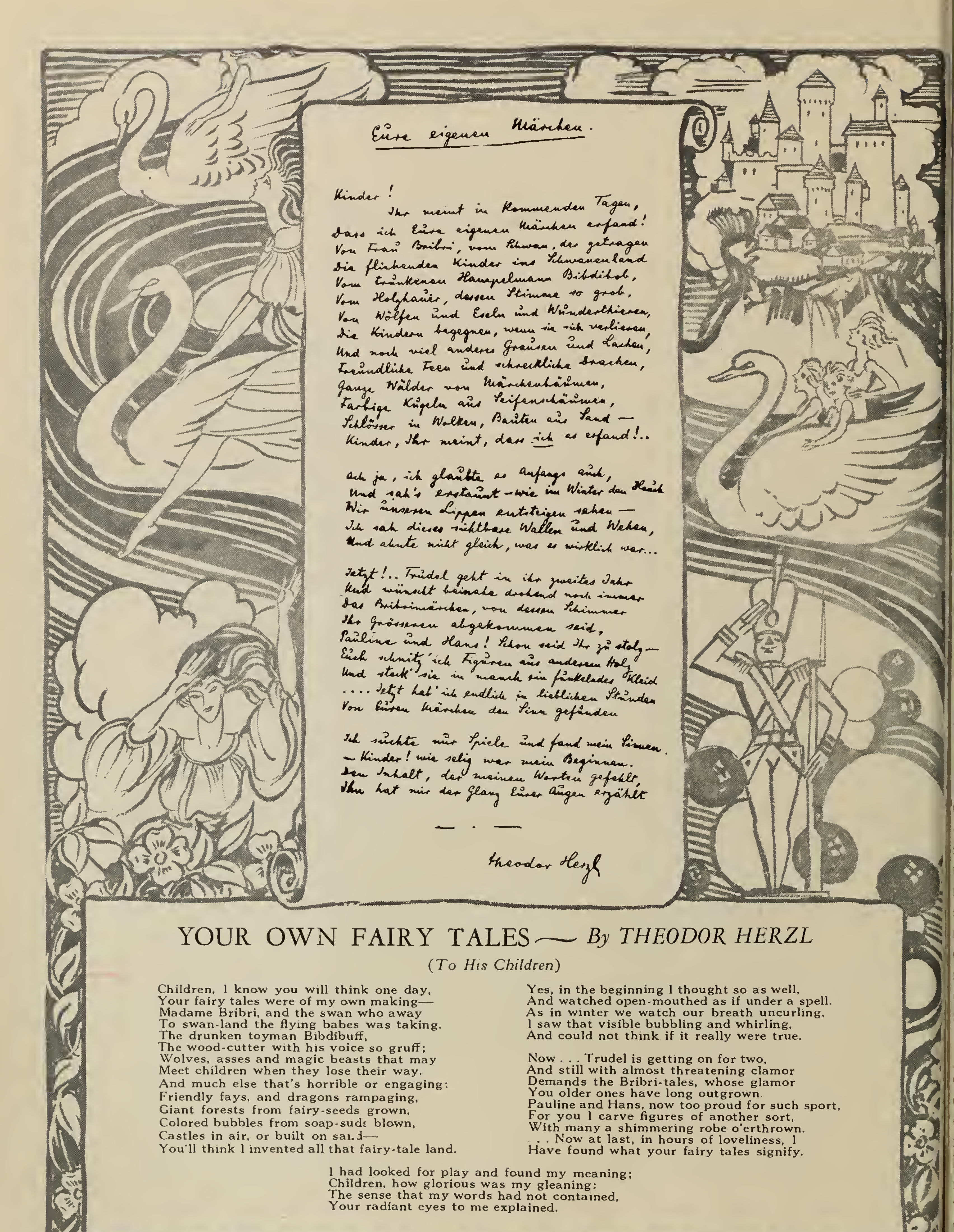
(The author of this reminiscence was the secretary of Theodor Herzl).

SECTION II

The Writings of Theodor Herzl

The DIARIES *and Other Selections*

THE Zionist world is apt to forget the commanding position which Theodor Herzl held in the literary field. Reminiscences by some of the foremost men of letters of the day, which appear in Section I of this volume, pay homage to the literary influence of Herzl and attest to the high rank which he held in the sphere of literature. Herzl's literary inclination has saved for world Jewry the story of his Zionist work. The recording of his day-by-day impressions in his *Diaries* helps to illuminate that early period of Zionism when a handful of individuals, unrelated except for the bond of an idea, struggled for the realization of their hope of Zion rebuilt. Nothing so clearly reveals the multifaceted, magnetic mind of Herzl as this account of his activities in the interest of Zionism. In addition to a condensed version of the *Diaries*, the following pages contain selections from some of Herzl's other Zionist writings and addresses.



Eure eigenen Märchen.

Kinder!
Ihr meint in kommenden Tagen,
Dass ich Eure eigenen Märchen erfand!
Von Frau Bribri, vom Schwan, der getragen
Die fliehenden Kinder ins Schwanenland
Vom trunkenen Hampelmann Bibdibob,
Vom Holzhauer, dessen Stimme so grob,
Von Wölfen und Eseln und Wunderthieren,
Die Kindern begegnen, wenn sie sich verlieren,
Und noch viel anderes Grausen und Lachen,
Freundliche Feen und schreckliche Drachen,
Ganze Wälder von Märchenbäumen,
Farbige Kugeln aus Seifenschäumen,
Schlösser in Wolken, Bauten aus Sand —
Kinder, Ihr meint, dass ich es erfand!..

Ach ja, ich glaubte es anfangs auch,
Und sah's erstaunt — wie im Winter den Hauch
Wir unseren Lippen entsteigen sehen —
Ich sah dieses sichtbare Wallen und Wehen,
Und ahnte nicht gleich, was es wirklich war...

Jetzt!.. Trudel geht in ihr zweites Jahr
Und wünscht beinahe drohend noch immer
Das Bribrimärchen, von dessen Schimmer
Ihr Grösseren abgekommen seid,
Pauline und Hans! Schon seid Ihr zu stolz —
Euch schnitz' ich Figuren aus anderem Holz
Und steck' sie in manch ein funkelndes Kleid
.... Jetzt hab' ich endlich in lieblichen Stunden
Von Euren Märchen den Sinn gefunden

Ich suchte nur Spiele und fand mein Sinnen.
— Kinder! wie selig war mein Beginnen.
Den Inhalt, der meinen Worten gefehlt,
Ihn hat mir der Glanz Eurer Augen erzählt

— · —

Theodor Herzl

YOUR OWN FAIRY TALES — *By THEODOR HERZL*

(*To His Children*)

Children, I know you will think one day,
Your fairy tales were of my own making—
Madame Bribri, and the swan who away
To swan-land the flying babes was taking.
The drunken toyman Bibdibuff,
The wood-cutter with his voice so gruff;
Wolves, asses and magic beasts that may
Meet children when they lose their way.
And much else that's horrible or engaging:
Friendly fays, and dragons rampaging,
Giant forests from fairy-seeds grown,
Colored bubbles from soap-suds blown,
Castles in air, or built on sand—
You'll think I invented all that fairy-tale land.

Yes, in the beginning I thought so as well,
And watched open-mouthed as if under a spell.
As in winter we watch our breath uncurling,
I saw that visible bubbling and whirling,
And could not think if it really were true.

Now . . . Trudel is getting on for two,
And still with almost threatening clamor
Demands the Bribri-tales, whose glamor
You older ones have long outgrown.
Pauline and Hans, now too proud for such sport,
For you I carve figures of another sort,
With many a shimmering robe o'erthrown.
. . . Now at last, in hours of loveliness, I
Have found what your fairy tales signify.

I had looked for play and found my meaning;
Children, how glorious was my gleaning:
The sense that my words had not contained,
Your radiant eyes to me explained.

Herzl's Diaries

An Explanation which Deepens the Enigma

By MAURICE SAMUEL

The three volumes of Theodor Herzl's "Diaries" constitute the most important account of the origin and growth of the Zionist movement and the only reliable source of information as to the aims, ideas, movements, emotions and achievements of Herzl. These three massive books have now been condensed for the first time in English, with the most significant passages translated in full. This great task of digesting and refashioning Herzl's "Diaries" has been done by a writer who is regarded as one of the two most important English writers on Zionism in America. Mr. Maurice Samuel, noted novelist and essayist, has in the following pages helped to recreate Herzl as no definitive biography could have done. This condensed version of Herzl's "Diaries" is not only a new contribution to Zionist literature but an enrichment of the entire field of Jewish thought, which will bring to the English-speaking world a new vision of one of Jewry's greatest leaders. In the following prefatory essay to the "Diaries," Mr. Samuel evaluates Herzl, or rather writes an appreciation of him, in the light of his intimacy with those many sources into which he had to delve in his work with the "Diaries." Though objective and critical, Mr. Samuel arrives at a conclusion to which any reader of the "Diaries" must be forced.

THE paradox of most posthumous diaries lies in this: that men who were afraid that their deeds and words did not explain them while they were alive, trusted their reputations to a mere document when they were dead. From the point of view of illumination, most diaries are disappointments—Herzl's not less than the others. He who was the alivest of men (and therein lay his secret) is not to be understood from a record when he has been dead twenty-five years.

The fascination of the *Diaries* has little to do with the light they shed on that most important of problems: wherein lay the genius of Herzl, and what explanation (or near-explanation) are we to accept for the strange career of the man, and the miraculous career of his reputation? In saying that his secret was his marvelous aliveness I am merely begging the question, and even the illusion of explanation which that definition carries does not come from the *Diaries;* it comes from the tradition, the *Torah she b'al peh*, of Herzl. The *Diaries* are directly fascinating on three counts: they reveal the mechanics of the beginning of a movement; they constitute a brilliant picture of an international political atmosphere which has almost been dissolved in the last thirty years; and they uncover some of the torments and spiritual triumphs of a great man.



MAURICE SAMUEL

And even here we are haunted by an exasperating feeling of incompleteness. Herzl himself calmly records that one of his chief worries at the first Congress was to prevent his feeble left hand from knowing what his feeble right hand was doing. He was afraid that Hechler and Newlinsky might discover that they were, in fact, the Zionist movement apart from the Congress. The first was a priest and a dreamer, sunk in cabalistic calculations of the end of all things, and convinced by Prophetic Tables dated at the beginning of the Mohammedan era that the time of the Jewish return was at hand; the second was a Polish nobleman in Galuth, a winning adventurer, a landless and penniless weaver of intangible international intrigues. They and Herzl—*die drei Helden von Schem*—started that Zionist movement on its fabulous international career. Such are the mechanics of the first days of the movement. But what do they explain?

The negative side of these mechanics is much more palpable. What a pitiful array they are, the de Hirsches and Güdemanns and Cohens! The first had immortality just within his grasp. Or perhaps that too is an illusion. Perhaps he was foredoomed by his narrow practicality to possess the strength which could have assured him immortality, and to lack the vision without which it was impossible. The second might have made himself an honorable place in Jewish history; but the timidity which fitted him to be a fashionable Rabbi unfitted him to be the comrade of Herzl; he alternated between twittering enthusiasm and fluttering terror. The third (his name is legion) is representative of the Jewish *Baal Habaith* who at best becomes a Joshua ben Nun; at worst a nobody. Cohen quickly chose the second alternative.

Of course the de Hirsches and the Güdemanns and the Cohens are moving over slowly, reluctantly to our side. But that does not mean that they have altered in caliber or character. Zionism has not made them greater, for it has not brought about an inner change. They are still, as ever, on the safe side: no one will ridicule them except those whose ridicule

does not matter. The mechanics of the movement, as exposed in the *Diary*, do not explain anything. It is obvious that the lifting of the Jewish question to an international status is not to be made simple by the analysis of method. It was Herzl's personality alone (not transmitted to the *Diaries*) which made that possible. But this is only another way of saying that genius cannot be imitated. A sensible mediocrity could have a dozen Hechlers and Newlinskys at his disposal and remain, together with the Zionist question, in quiet obscurity until the end of all time.

In fact, the more we examine the rather pitiful means which Herzl had to use, the more we are astonished that he should have set out with them. Round him, as round Hamlet, the question will always have to revolve whether he was not, after all, a trifle mad. But that madness is an integral part of the queer thing we call genius. To persist in being a genius in a world of mediocrities, one must have a little madness to make things bearable.

I am quite aware that, apart from being blasphemous, I am also running counter to the evidence of Herzl's surviving contemporaries, who insist that in his daily relations with them and with every one else he showed not only irresistible charm, but that poise and ease and matter-of-factness which belong to the eminently sane. It is just this, however, which gives point to my belief. I am suspicious of that too perfect balance of his. With that weird and abnormal mission of his he should have been more erratic in his bearing; that he was not, proves that the outlet had been provided elsewhere in his constitution. Nor do poise and ease and balance and matter-of-factness suffice to impress the masses or the individually susceptible. A subtle quality which has from of old awed all men into superstitious silence in the presence of the mad prophet clung also to Herzl. All talk of his literary gifts, his political foresight, his oratorical powers is, in this connection, beside the point. For, add these to his ingenuity, his obstinacy, and the instruments with which he worked, and there is still a lacuna.

AS to the second value in the *Diaries*, we unquestionably have here an astonishing picture of the expiring world of feudalism and divine right of kings (two elements born at different epochs and welded together for a brief period) in which, a generation ago, diplomacy performed its intricate egg-dances. Herzl stood with one foot in either epoch; the first was the epoch of princes, the second was the epoch of articulate public opinion. Herzl's main belief was in the power of the first. True, he tried to interest Bismarck, von Plehve, Chamberlain and others; but he was at his best in the presence of kings; and he pursued the latter (the Grand Duke of Baden, Wilhelm II, the Sultan, the Czar) with much more persistence than the first. Herein Herzl becomes kin to the pseudo-messiahs of the Middle Ages, the Sabbatai Zevis, the Malkos and Abulafias, who worked through potentates and not (as others already did in the Middle Ages—witness Peter the Hermit, Huss and so on) through the masses. But himself part of the press which was his tyrannical master (perhaps it was the newspaper, with its truckling to vulgar public opinion, which made him first try the aristocracy), he could not help recoiling, when he failed with individuals, to the anonymous masses.

What a curious revelation—or better, confirmation, for it is already known—these *Diaries* are of the purely personal element in the old diplomacy. And what a powerful record of the indefatigable energy, the unshatterable hopefulness, the infinite ingenuity which went into the career of the diplomat, taken up at a moment's notice by Herzl. He cannot see anybody without asking himself instinctively: "Can I use him? Can he introduce me to somebody who can introduce me to somebody who can introduce me to *the* somebody?" He cannot be rebuffed; the moment one web of intricate design is broken up, he starts instinctively and resistlessly to spin another. It does not occur to him to stop. Sometimes he *says* he is going to stop. But he himself admits that he is really posing to himself when he secretly writes that he is going to stop; he is making ultimate victory sweeter by setting down in the blackest colors the despair of the moment. He *cannot* stop. The rational instinct of self-preservation has abandoned him.

Would Herzl ever have achieved anything direct with his tortuous negotiations? It is easily permissible to doubt it. It seems quite certain that the Turks did not take him seriously; they took nobody seriously because their Levantine levity made that impossible. Others were fascinated by him, but it is doubtful whether they ever saw enough of a *quid pro quo* in his plans. Herzl might have gone on for twenty years, offering, retracting, arranging, rearranging. And nothing would have come of it in *that* direction.

But meanwhile he was of course building, largely without intent, elsewhere. The mere fact of negotiation was itself the starting-point for other, indirect, achievements. The breath of a larger world suddenly passed, fresh, invigorating, across the tiny-minded Zionist world of the time. Hess and Mohilever and Pinsker had thought greatly; but the Choveve Zion movement was the movement of ants. The workers of the time did not dare to dream. Or rather, their dreams were eschatological; they had to do with the *achrith hayomin*. Herzl suddenly brought the screen closer, and focused the lens right.

THERE is a parallel (both as regards the immorality of the old diplomacy and the lifting out of the dreams of a people into immediate efficacy) in another part of modern European history. The movement for the Italian *risorgimento* ran up against a difficulty similar to ours. Justly or not, the Italians saw them

elves as the heirs of ancient Rome. Scattered, like ourselves, under a variety of rulers (though united geographically), they did not dare to lift the problem of their unification and renaissance to the level of an mmediate world problem. They too, though of the emote past, and, by balance, of the remote future. t was Cavour who was determined to place the talian question on the map (in both the colloquial and literal sense). And, for no good reason at all (except this hidden one) he joined the Crimean war on the side of the allies, despatched 14,000 Piedmontese soldiers to the front, and woke Italy to the fact that the world was aware of its existence. The effect on Italy was electrical. Italy's share in that war was quite meaningless; perhaps equally meaningless were Herzl's interminable combinations. But their effect lay elsewhere. It is true that Herzl, unlike Cavour, took his gestures with desperate seriousness. But that is of no consequence. To-day we can see that under no circumstances would Herzl's *liplomatic* work have brought enduring results. The World War shattered more powerful combinations han his. But I speak here of the world as it was then; ven in that world Herzl's direct plans were perhaps oredoomed to failure.

Is that an excuse for the chicken-hearted hesitancy of de Hirsch and Güdemann and the others? Far from t. With the millions of the bankers behind him, vith the public opinion of the *Kehilloth* to give resoance to his words, Herzl would perhaps not have ucceeded better with the Kings and Ministers; ut he would have roused the Jewish masses to a itch of enthusiasm, to a self-consciousness and trength which would have changed our history -day. The redemption of the Jewish people could n no wise have come from Herzl's triumph with he rulers of the world: only from the will of Jewry. But the effect which he produced on the Jewish nasses, distinct as it was (it gave us the Zionist novement), was muffled by the intervening passivity f the acknowledged "leaders" of the Jewish people. The truth is that in their Galuth of nineteen centuries he Jews have had no leaders; they have had models. They were taught not to go anywhere as a whole, ut to stand still. Not leaders then, but paragons of mmobility. These amorphous quantities interposed etween Herzl and the Jewish masses the bulk of their eadening influence, by refusing to stand behind im in his negotiations with rulers. They did not ven have the only proper surface excuse: that the *egotiations* might not be practicable. Their excuses vere—every Zionist knows them.

IN the third respect which I have mentioned, the *Diaries* have their highest worth. Without revealng the secret of Herzl's greatness, they show us how reat he was. In the objective world there are two inds of greatness, one direct, the other derivative. n the first kind a man intrinsically great imposes imself on the history of the world by immediate effect. In the second kind a man who is only greatly talented *insinuates* himself into world history. We see it on the small as well as on the large scale. How many men do we not see who, by indirect talents, associate themselves skillfully with historic currents, derive their publicity from the work of others, and play politics of the secondary kind in order to keep themselves in the first ranks of celebrities. They are so perpetually in the company of the great that they are mistaken for the great. Nay, they become the greatest of all: for the great men, used up in succession, keep changing on the scene; but the skillful companion of the great, not using himself up, always stays on the stage. This too needs a high degree of ability; and a great many of the world's historic figures (Augustus was such a one, so was Diocletian—I choose my instances at a safe distance of time and space) belong to this class.

But Herzl was great in both the primary and the derivative sense. The second need not concern us—it is merely a high form of talent. The first is of supreme importance, because it comes from the *Shechinah*. Again and again, in his *Diaries*, the lightning comes down from the primeval source. Even in the résumé of the *Diaries* which follows, they have their first effect. I give, as instance and summary, only one sentence: the rest the reader must pick out for himself.

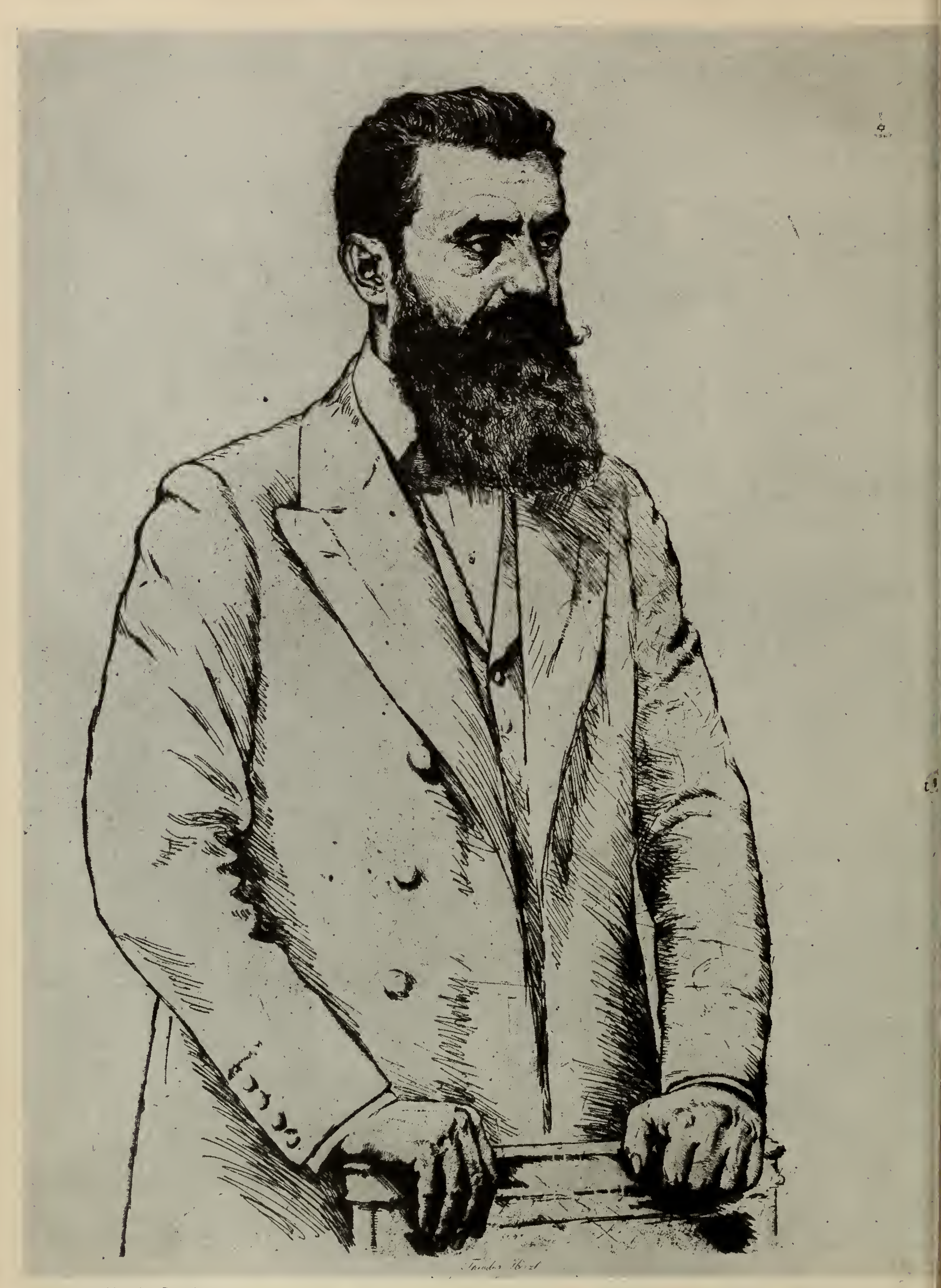
Toward the end of things, in the midst of heartbreaking failures, degrading needs, defections, worries of the most pitiful kind, there burns, with sudden and incandescent life, the following sentence:

Zionism has been the Sabbath of my life.

I simply do not understand how such a thought could have come to this man at that moment: broken, disillusioned, prematurely aged, exhausted in body and apparently in spirit too. It cannot be a pose, for you can pose as everything in the world except a moral genius. In such flashes the *Diaries* reveal a sublime Herzl; and for this reason they must remain a part of world literature.

IT is true that these international financiers are rich enough to carry the work forward; but they are not rich enough to prevent it from being carried forward. Though they may be able to buy everything, they still cannot buy the piece of metal out of which the pen of an independent writer is made. The demoralized section of the press may be at their service in their dubious enterprises, but they can no longer suppress a national movement of such rapid growth. Let them shrug their shoulders and smile at Utopias and dreams. The day may not be so far off when they will see the fable in another light. *De te fabula narratur.* It may well happen that this comical movement of the forlorn, with a few madmen at its head, will stand in bloodiest earnest before them.

From Herzl's The Eternal Jew.



From an etching by Struck

Diaries of Theodor Herzl

Translated, Condensed and Annotated by MAURICE SAMUEL

(The *Diaries* of Herzl open with a sort of prelude, or invocation. He is in the grip of an inspiration, unable to foresee to what lengths he will be carried and what forms he will use for its expression. But that this is something outside the range of all previous experience is quite clear to him.)

VOLUME ONE

Begun in Paris, Pentecost, 1895

I HAVE been occupied for some time past with a work which is of immeasurable greatness. I cannot tell to-day whether I shall bring it to a close. It has the appearance of a gigantic dream. But for days and weeks it has filled me, saturated even my subconsciousness;it accompanies me wherever I go, broods above my ordinary daily converse, looks over my shoulder at my petty, comical journalistic work, disturbs me and intoxicates me.

What it will lead to it is impossible to surmise as yet. But my experience tells me that it is something marvelous, even as a dream, and that I shall write it down—if not as a memorial for mankind, then for my own delight or meditation in after years. And perhaps for something between both these possibilities: for the enrichment of literature. If the romance does not become a fact, at least the fact can become a romance.

Title: The Promised Land!

To-day I really no longer know whether it was not the romance that I first had in mind. In any case it was not to be something belletristic for its own sake, but something serving a purpose.

When was it I began to occupy myself with the Jewish question? Probably ever since it arose. Assuredly ever since I read Dühring's book. In one of my old notebooks, packed away somewhere in Vienna, are some of my first observations on Dühring's book and the question. At that time I had not yet found a publication for my literary work—it was, I believe, in 1881 or 1882; but I know that even to-day I often say things that are written down there. As the years went on that question ate its way deeper into me, tormented me and made me very unhappy. In actual fact I returned to it again and again whenever I translated my own personal experience, pain and joy into general terms.

(From the foregoing and from what follows we see that, in spite of frequent reports to the contrary, Herzl was involved in the Jewish question long before he ever dreamed of responding to its pressure even in literary form . . . Eugen Karl Dühring, German philosopher with anti-Semitic leanings, was among the first to establish a rationale of anti-Semitism. 1833–1901.)

THE Jewish question naturally glowered at me from every corner. I sighed over it, I jested, felt unhappy, but I was never thoroughly gripped by it, although even before I came here I already wanted to write a Jewish novel. I was going to compose it during my travels in Spain, in 1891. The central figure was to be my dear friend Heinrich Kana, who shot himself in Berlin in February, 1891. I believe that I wanted to exorcise his ghost in the writing of that novel. Naturally I wanted to place the poor, despised and fine groups of Jews in contrast to the rich Jews. The latter feel nothing of that anti-Semitism for which they in reality are chiefly responsible.

Then the *Neue Freie Presse* called me to Paris as its correspondent. In Paris I entered—at least as an observer—political life. I saw how the world is ruled. I also stood at gaze before the phenomenon of the crowd; for a long time without understanding it. Here I also knew a freer and higher relationship to anti-Semitism, from which I at least did not have to suffer directly. In Austria or Germany I had always to tremble lest some one shout *Hep! Hep!* after me. Here I passed "unrecognized" in the crowd.

In that word "unrecognized" lies a terrific reproach against the anti-Semites.

That *Hep! Hep!* has come to my own ears only twice. The first time in Mainz, when I traveled through the city in 1888. In the evening I came to a cheap concert hall, drank my beer there, and as I stood up and made my way toward the door through the noise and smoke a young fellow called after me: *Hep! Hep!*

The second time it was in Baden, when somebody called "Jew-Pig" after me as I went by in a carriage.

(*Hep! Hep!* is the cry which comes down from the Jew-baiting mobs of the Middle Ages. Its origin is said to be the first letters of the three words: *Hierosolyma est perdita*, Jerusalem is lost.)

FROM the beginning I understood the emptiness and futility of efforts to "combat anti-Semitism." With paper declamations or arguments moving in a vicious circle nothing at all can be done. In fact, the effect is comical. You may find—among pushers and cranks—very honest people on such "relief committees." They resemble the "relief committees" which follow—and precede!—floods, and are about as far-reaching in effect. The noble Bertha von Suttner is in error—an error, indeed, which does her

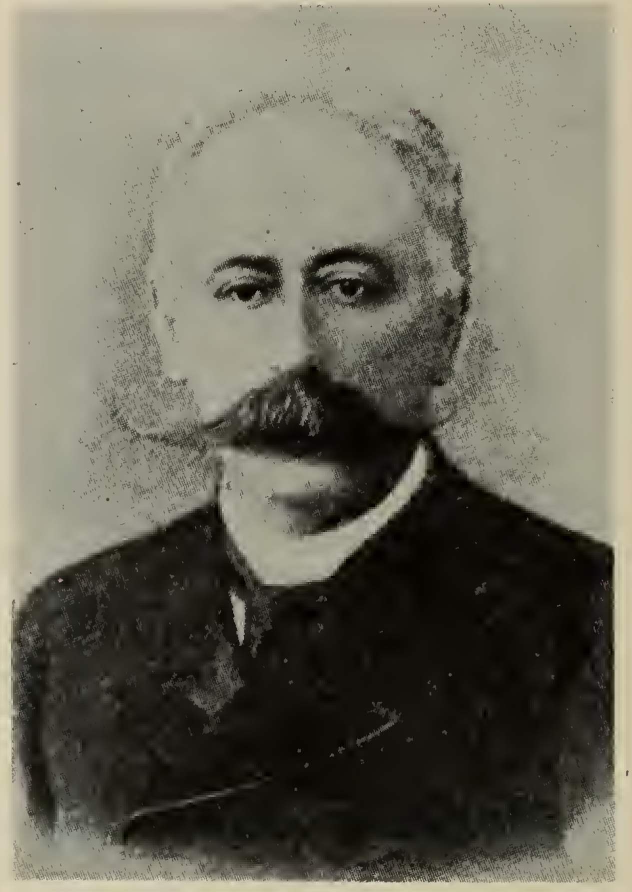
all honor—when she thinks that such a committee can be of help. Exactly the case of the peace societies. A man who invents a terrible explosive does more for peace than a thousand mild apostles.

This was the answer which I gave casually to Baron Leitenberger when he asked me, three years ago, what I thought of the *Freie Blatt* for the "combating, etc." I thought nothing of it. . . .

Since that day anti-Semitism has grown, keeps on growing—and I with it.

I still remember two different approaches to the question and its solution which I tried within the last few years. About two years ago I wanted to solve the Jewish question, at least in Austria, with the help of the Catholic Church. I wanted to get *entrée* to the Pope, not without having assured myself in advance of the assistance of the Austrian upper clergy, and to say to him: "Help us against anti-Semitism, and I shall lead a great movement for the free and decent conversion of the Jews to Christianity."

Free and *decent* because the leaders of this movement—and I above all—would remain Jews and would propagate the idea as Jews. The conversion was to take place in broad daylight, at twelve o'clock on Sunday, in the San Stefan Cathedral of Vienna, in festive processions and to the sound of bells. Not in shame, as single ones have done hitherto, but with proud gestures. . . .


BARON MAURICE DE HIRSCH

(Herzl tells how he tried to win the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Freie Presse* to the idea and failed. His second approach to the question of anti-Semitism was—the turning of the Jews to the professions. But this too was nothing more than a conversation. And then, finally, while he sat for the sculptor Beer, in Paris, the inspiration came.)

THE conversation turned to the fact that it did not help the Jews at all if one were an artist untainted by money. The curse clung. I became greatly excited in my talk, and I was still glowing after I left. With the swiftness of that dream in the Arabian fairy story rose the plan for this work. I think I had scarcely gone the distance from the Rue Descombes to the Place Péreire, and it was complete in my mind.

The next day I sat down. Three wonderful weeks of excitement and work.

I thought that through this dramatic eruption I should write myself free. On the contrary, I was drawn in deeper and deeper. The thought grew ever stronger that I had to do something for the Jews.

For the first time I went to the temple in the Rue de la Victoire, and again I found the services festive and touching. There was much to remind me of my youth, the Temple on the Tabakgasse in Pest. . . .

Did it happen then? Or had I conceived before that time the plan to write "The Situation of the Jews?"

Now I remember that it was before. I had already spoken of it the fall before in Vienna. . . .

(The "literary" prelude to the *Diaries* takes up thirteen out of the nearly two thousand pages. Suddenly, without understanding why, Herzl writes a letter to Baron de Hirsch, the famous philanthropist, asking for an interview. De Hirsch turns out to be in London. After some correspondence they meet in Paris, on June 2, 1895. Herzl lays his plans for a Jewish State before the Baron—and here follows the result.)

THE Baron said, benevolently, as if I were asking him for a position in his banking-house: "I observe that you are an intelligent man."

I smiled inwardly. Such a project as I have in mind lifts one above conceit. I shall yet see and hear diverse things.

And de Hirsch continued his praise with: "But you have such fantastic ideas."

I stood up. "Yes. Did I not tell you that it would sound either too simple or too fantastic to you? You do not know what the fantastic is, and that the only way to get the large lines of mankind is from a great height."

He answered: "Emigration is the only thing. There is land enough to be bought."

I almost shouted. "But who tells you that I do not want to emigrate? Here it is, in my notes. I shall go to the German Kaiser—and he will understand me, for he has been brought up to understand big things. . . . "

(Herzl makes no direct entry into his diary, after this interview, for nearly a whole year. He keeps only scattered notes. He cannot sit down to make coherent entries. He explains why.)

I WROTE walking, standing, lying down, on the street, at table, by night when I was driven forth from my sleep.

Every note bears its date. I no longer have the time to copy the notes. I have begun the second book, so as to put down daily what is worth putting down. And thus the notes accumulate. Now I shall ask my good father to enter these in the book in their proper order, as they were written.

(Among the first entries is the letter he wrote de Hirsch after the unsuccessful interview. In part he says:)

"You are the big money Jew, I the Jew of the spirit. Hence the divergence between our means and methods. Naturally you took up an attitude of gentle irony. I expected it. I told you so at the beginning. That is the way new ideas are received.

"Do you know that you are fearfully reactionary in your politics—worse than the most absolutist autocracies? Fortunately your powers do not extend far enough. You mean well, *parbleu, je le sais bien.* That is why I should like to give the right turn to your intentions. Do not hold it against me that I am a young man. At thirty-five one is a minister in France and Napoleon was emperor. . . .

"Believe me: the politics of an entire people—particularly when it is scattered throughout the whole world—can be made only with imponderabilia, which float in the air. . . . What? You do not understand the imponderable? And what is religion? . . .

"Yet the national fantasy must have firm ground beneath. But who says that I have not thoroughly practical ideas as to the detailed method? . . .

"Will you make a bet with me? I shall create a national loan for the Jews. If you will undertake to provide fifty million marks, I shall create the first hundred million. In exchange, I shall make you the commander.

"What are ten billion *marks* for the Jews? They are richer than the French were before 1870—and how many Jews there were among them! As a matter of fact, under pressure of necessity we could start off with one billion. For it will be working capital, the foundation of our later railways, our immigration fleets and our war fleet. With this we shall build houses, palaces, workers' dwellings, schools, theatres, museums, government houses, hospitals, lunatic asylums—in brief, cities.

"You will find Jewish money in heavy quantities for a Chinese loan, for negro railways in Africa, for most adventurous enterprises—and for the deepest, most immediate and most tormenting needs of the Jews shall you find none?"

(As is well known, the negotiations with de Hirsch came to nothing. The next section of the *Diaries* is constituted by a series of *Gedankensplitter*, fragments of ideas, which Herzl intends to integrate with the *Judenstaat*. Part of them follow here.)

We shall unite all the Zionists.

General sanitary measures must be taken before masses entrain. We shall have emigrant hospitals (quarantines), baths, clothing institutes before emigration.

To try to prepare, artificially, a historic peasantry is like equipping a modern army with bows and arrows.

I am so filled with this idea that I refer everything to it, as a lover refers everything to his beloved. . . . I went to see *Tannhauser* in the evening. We too shall have the same splendid showrooms, the gentlemen in frock coats, the ladies as luxurious as can be. Yes, I shall make use of Jewish luxuriousness, as of everything else.

We shall have to face great fights: with retracting Pharaohs, enemies, and above all with ourselves. The golden calf!

The army must be kept well in hand!

All officials must be uniformed handsomely, neatly, but not absurdly.

Prizes for all sorts of virtues.

Tobacco plantations, silk factories.

Have the wonder rabbi of Sadagora migrate, to be a sort of provincial bishop. In fact, win the entire clergy over.

Order of procedure:

1. Creation of means (the syndicate).
2. Beginning of publicity (which costs nothing, for the anti-Semites will be happy, and I shall break the opposition of liberals by threat of competition).
3. Engagement of land prospectors.
4. Continuation of publicity on a grand scale. Let Europe laugh at it, swear at it—as long as it talks about it.
5. Negotiations with Zion.
6. Marking out of territorial points to be acquired.
7. Purchase of first lands (one billion).
8. Purchase and construction of ships.
9. Continuous enrollment of all who report; recruiting, division, direction . . .

Etc.

June 7, 1895.

De Hirsch, who eight days ago was the keystone of my plans, has to-day become a *quantité negligeable.*

I am the man who manufactures aniline dyes from waste products.

I must use a variety of similes, for this thing is without parallel.

I tried de Hirsch, now I am going to Rothschild, as von Moltke went from Denmark to Prussia.

The cowardly, assimilated, baptized Jews may remain. Even they will come in useful—they will be proud of their relationship with us, of whom they are now ashamed. But we, the faithful Jews, will again become great.

For all that, if I get the Rothschilds, I do not want to repulse poor de Hirsch.

I shall make him Vice-President (in recognition of his meritorious work till now and because he knows the plan).

My removal from Vienna to Paris was historically necessary, so that I might learn the meaning of migration.

Güdemann! I shall make you the first bishop of the capital.

The exodus under Moses will bear the same relation to this thing as a *Fastnachtsingspiel* by Hans Sachs to an opera by Wagner.

After one hundred years we shall have general military duty; but who knows how far civilization will have advanced by then?

Circenses as soon as possible:

German theatre, international theatre, opera, operetta, circus, *café-concert*, café Champs Elysées.

Our High Priest will wear imposing ceremonial dress: our cuirassiers will have yellow trousers, white tunics. Officers, silver cuirasses. . . .

For rewards to my brave soldiers, striving artists, faithful and gifted officials, I shall use the dowries of rich girls.

I must conduct marriage politics.

I shall punish suicide: an unsuccessful attempt by long incarceration in a lunatic asylum, a successful attempt with refusal of honorable burial.

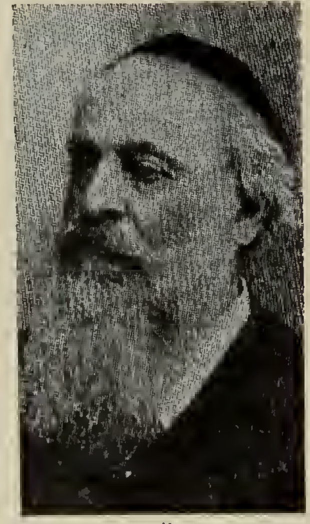
I need the duel, in order to have proper officers, and in order to refine the tone of good society on the French model.

(Page after page these random ideas continue. They touch on every imaginable theme. Prizes for large families, disposition of unskilled labor, its organization into an army; architecture, introduction of Viennese cafés for the homesick, luxury taxes, amnesties, punishments, a House of Lords, general parliamentary organization, entertainment on the transports of returning Jews, etc., etc. He also considers South America as a possibility. Ships will have three classes. Jewish consular employees can be taken over usefully, etc., etc. Then follows a purely personal note:)

MUCH that is set down in these notes will appear ridiculous, exaggerated, crazy. But if I were to exercise self-criticism, as in my literary works, the thoughts would become crippled.

Artists will understand why, amid my practical, political and law-creating ideas I, who am for the rest clear in my logic, permit these exaggerations and dreams to sprout like green grass between cement stones. I must not force myself downward into a state of sober carefulness. This light intoxication was necessary.

Yes, artists will understand it completely. But there are so few artists.


RABBI GÜDEMANN

(In the midst of these reflections he writes, on June 11, 1895, to Rabbi Güdemann of Vienna, without unfolding his plan, but mentioning that he is about to start an important movement. He only asks Güdemann for a general report on Jewish conditions in Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, etc. He wants Güdemann to meet him in Caux—there he will speak to him in detail. Another Jew, the business man Salo Cohn, was also invited, but did not reply. Herzl enjoins Güdemann to strictest secrecy. The meeting in Caux never took place.

Then the reflections continue in the same irregular stream. Universal insurance; organization of Russian Jews into a labor-army; question of tobacco monopoly; whisky monopoly; establishment of branches of the *Neue Freie Presse*, the *New York Herald*, etc., over there; transformation of the Society of Jews into the Jewish State; religious toleration; banking questions for the Society of Jews; prevention of land-speculation "over there"—he does not say Palestine or any other specific place; building credits; architectural conferences; possibility of purchasing South American republics; which of the Rothschilds should he approach now that de Hirsch is out of it? Question of prostitution; the seven-hour day, etc., etc. Much of this material found its way into the *Judenstaat*. In the midst of it, this note:)

June 16, 1895.

DURING these last few days I have been afraid of going off my mind, with such fierce impact did the trains of thoughts break upon my soul. A whole life will not suffice to carry this out.

I think I shall be remembered amongst the great benefactors of humanity.

Or is this thought already the beginning of the delusion of grandeur?

Before anything else, I must master myself.

I believe that for me life has ceased and world history begun.

I walked in the Bois for three hours to-day, trying to free myself from the torment of new thoughts. It became always worse. Now I sit in Pousset's, and I write them down—and I feel lighter. In fact, I also drink beer.

The *Judenstaat* is a world necessity.

(Now follow, in the *Diaries*, some extraordinary passages which indicate the struggle which Herzl had to pass through before he could become involved, with all his life, in the realization of his plans. There are letters to Güdemann in which he pushes ahead with unabated enthusiasm. But suddenly appears the following letter to Baron de Hirsch:)

June 18, 1895.

"My last letter calls for a closing note. I send it now. I have given up the thing. Why? My plan will fail with the poor rather than with the rich Jews. . . .

"Recently I read out my plan to a sensible friend of mine (who is not a money man). At first he became as soft as a child; his face was bathed in tears; his intelligence was captured, his heart shaken.

"Then he recovered slowly and said to me: 'With these things you will make yourself either tragic or comical.' The tragic side would not frighten me. But as to the comic side, it would not be I



BISMARCK
"I Shall Turn to Him"

›ut the plan itself, that would perish. The worst :hey could say to me is that I am a poet. That is vhy I am giving it up.

"For the time being the Jews cannot be helped. f one were to show them the Promised Land, they vould despise one."

(In his *Zionistische Schriften* Herzl tells the story in more detail. S. listened to the reading of *Der Judenstaat* and at the end burst into :ears. Herzl was deeply moved in turn—but was startled to learn the real reason for S.'s emotion: he thought Herzl had taken leave of his senses! The next day S. brought Herzl the Post-Office accounts for telegrams to the *Neue Freie Presse*, and both of them tried to make the total, with the results recorded below.)

It was a great source of comfort that I could add up the figures more swiftly and more accurately than he; he took a long time over it and kept making new errors. So terribly did he shake me yesterday.

I have found a way out of the despairing contradiction into which S. forced me yesterday.

I shall turn to Bismarck. He is big enough either to understand me or to cure me.

(He writes a long letter to Bismarck, in which he unfolds the idea. Now it is Bismarck who has become the "cornerstone of the plan." He feels grateful to S. now, because, without knowing it, it was S. who turned his attention from the "insufficient Güdemann" to Bismarck. He meets the Marmoreks at lunch—two brothers, one an architect, one a doctor.)

Marmorek said: Nothing will remain but that we should be referred to a State of our own. (This is the able fellow who is looking for a serum and who kills the streptococcus.)

I rejoiced inwardly.

I need such supports now. So deeply did S. demoralize me with his tears and with his excitement.

(From this point on, till the end of the first book of the *Diaries*, there is one long entry headed, in the handwriting of Theodor Herzl's father, *Speech to the Rothschilds*. The date is June 13, 1895. The "speech" is a recapitulation of his views, beginning with the question of the danger which faces the fortunes of the Rothschilds. The danger can be met only by an "exodus from Egypt." If it is not done with the Rothschilds, it will be done against them. The question of the status and position of the Rothschilds is woven inro the texture of this prepared and undelivered address.)

VOLUME TWO

(The first volume takes up over two hundred pages of the German original, and covers the period from spring of the year 1895 until June 23rd of the same year, when the second book begins. Within a few days Herzl realizes that there was no hope of a reply from Bismarck.)

June 26, 1895.

BISMARCK'S answer is due to-day. It is not forthcoming. Did he ever get the letter?

June 27, 1895.

No reply from Bismarck. I am already convinced that I shall get none. I no longer care. . . .

(He begins to revolve plans for putting his project before the Kaiser, Wilhelm II. At the same time he continues to set down fragmentary ideas, in the fashion already noted, regarding the future Jewish State. On June 28th he writes to Albert Rothschild, stating that he has prepared a memorial on the Jewish question, for presentation to the Kaiser, and asking Rothschild to act as reference for him. He also invites Rothschild to become acquainted with the plan, and to meet him, Herzl, for that purpose.)

July 4, 1895.

Albert Rothschild's reply, due to-day, has not arrived. Fortunately I have nothing of a too polite nature in my letter to regret.

I am putting my memorial to the Kaiser into final shape.

I am beginning once more to concentrate in thought on the novel, for apparently my plan will appear a fantasy to every one. . . .

In my novel I shall put down everything which I now regret having written to de Hirsch, and which he may have been showing around, with a smile. My revenge will be magnificent: I shall make a sympathetic figure out of him. (In fact, I really do find him sympathetic.)

(But on the very next day he receives a friendly note from de Hirsch, asking to see him again, but stating explicitly that he has not changed his views. He replies to de Hirsch, explaining what he meant by saying he had given up his plan.)

July 5, 1895.

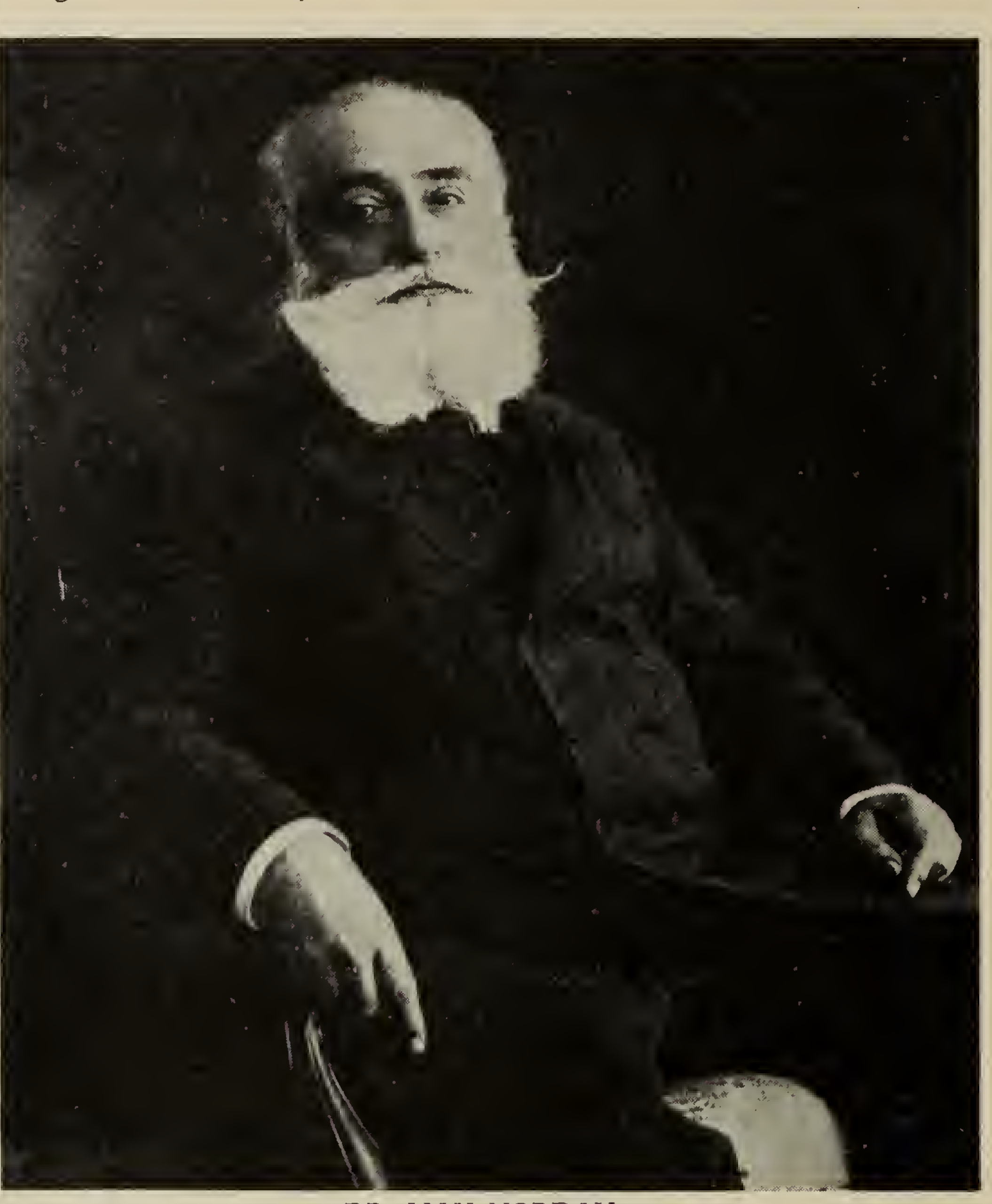
"After your letter of yesterday, I want to explain what I meant by that statement. I shall still try to do something *for* the Jews—*with* the Jews, nothing.

If I dared to think that any one understands my determined thought, I should say it is you. From the other Jews I expect even less. It is in its political listlessness that the decline of our once powerful people shows itself most clearly."

July 6, 1895.

Yesterday I sat down to a beer with Nordau. Naturally we spoke about the Jewish question. Never have I harmonized so well with Nordau. Never have I noticed so strongly that we belong together. We took the words out of each other's mouths. It has nothing to do with religion. He even says: "There is no such thing as Jewish dogma. But we are of one race." F. was present, and I noted that he was not comfortable. I believe he was ashamed that he had been baptized when he heard and saw how strongly we confessed our Jewishness. On that point too Nordau and I agreed—that only anti-Semitism had made us Jewish.

Nordau said: "What is the tragedy of Jewry? That this most conservative of people, which would like to cleave to the soil, has no homeland."



DR. MAX NORDAU

"I Harmonize So Well With Nordau—We Belong Together"

(The days pass. No answer from either de Hirsch or Rothschild. In the latter he sees this silence as arrogance, in the former as timidity. In the meantime the novel engages his thoughts again. But the anti-Jewish demonstrations which take place in Vienna about that time impel him to write again to Güdemann, who still knows his plan only in a vague general way. Herzl is very chary of revealing the contents of the *Judenstaat* to any one. He has simply told Güdemann that he has the solution to the Jewish question. Now he puts off detailed exposition until their next meeting in Vienna at the end of the summer.)

July 16, 1895.

Yesterday I dined with the Nordaus.

I have been fortunate in not being part of this circle. I should have used myself up in being witty at their dinner tables.

One instant the conversation turned to Baron de Hirsch. Nordau said: "If I had his money I should make myself King of South America."

How extraordinary. And S. told me, that time, that I ought to read my "crazy" plan to Nordau.

(He writes to Güdemann again. He reveals that S. has warned him against revealing his plan to Güdemann lest the latter, too, think he—Herzl—has taken leave of his senses. But he advises Güdemann that he is continuing; that he has prepared a memorial to the Kaiser. Meanwhile he is on the look-out for men to interest in his project.)

July 22, 1895.

NOTE on national psychology.

In the Taverne Royale there are some business leaders who are really head-waiters. Excellent arrangement! When such a head-waiter, who does not wear the waiter's jacket, hands the guest his plate, the latter feels flattered, chosen for distinction. I have noticed it in myself. In the same way the emigrants to my homeland will have to receive special attention. Jews—as a despised people—are *koved*-hungry—and they must be led thereby.

July 23, 1895.

Never explain anything to a blockhead.

My grandfather, Haschel Diamant, used to say: never kiss an ugly girl!

The warning seems superfluous, since there is no pleasure in the act. But the meaning of it is: don't kiss an ugly girl out of pity, or because you trust to find faithfulness, because she becomes conceited and you can never get rid of her.

(This part of the *Diaries* is still richly sown with ideas relating to the form of the Jewish State: where the capital is to be; what habits are to be encouraged; the building of warehouses.)

Moses forgot to take the fleshpots of Egypt

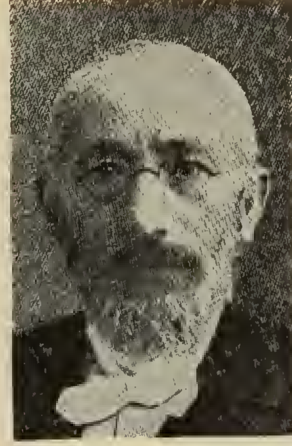
long. We shall remember . . . .

On the ship we shall wear full-dress to inner, and over there we shall have some egree of elegance as soon as possible.

The idea: the Jews must not get the mpression that they are going into the vilderness.

No! *This* migration takes place in the nidst of culture. We remain in the midst f culture even while we migrate.

We don't want a peasant state, but a Venice.



ZADOC KAHN

(He gets a letter from Güdemann in which the latter seems to be vorried about Herzl's losing his job on the *Neue Freie Presse*. Herzl eassures him that he is on the best of terms with the publishers, nd even hopes to get their help in time. But none of the persons o far approached by Herzl—De Hirsch, Rothschild, Bismarck, Güdemann—figure in later work. However, he invites Güdemann to neet him in Zürich now, and to bring with him a certain Meyer Cohen, to be the third at the conference. He feels, even now, that Güdemann is a weak vessel, for he has to reassure him over and over gain of his own sanity.)

"Leave it to ignoramuses and idiots to mistrust a poet. There is surely no lunacy in poetry . . ."

(He leaves Paris July 27th, having as yet done nothing to set his plan in motion. He writes:)

To-day I leave Paris!
One book of my life closes.
Another opens.
Which?

July 29, 1895.

(There is a poem on the wall of a bath-house at Zell am See. Herzl copies it:)

O Gott, schick doch den Moses wieder,
Auf dass er seine Stämmesbrüder
Wegführe ins gelobte Land.
Ist dann die ganze Judensippe
Erst drinnen in des Meeres Mitte,
Dann, Herr, o mach die Klappe zu,
Und alle Christen haben Ruh.

August 6, 1895.

I AM just reading Bloch's *Wochenschrift*. He squabbles around with the anti-Semites in medieval heological fashion, like the Rabbi with the Capucin nonk: "So that both of them stink!"

A forthright Jewish paper is certainly needed, but t has to be modern.

Still, this man Bloch could be used for Galicia.

August 10, 1895.

Spoke to-day with Dr. F. of Berlin. He is for being baptized. He "wants to make that sacrifice for his on." Well, well. I explained to him that there vere other vulgarities by which one might further one's career.

He will be baptized openly as soon as his wealthy ather-in-law is dead. He only forgets that if five housand like him get baptized the old slogan of Jew-Pig will simply be replaced by Baptism-Pig!

(During his summer stay in Switzerland, Herzl speaks to various Jews on the question, without ever revealing his plans in full. Meanwhile he resumes negotiations for the Herzl-Güdemann-Cohen conference, this time in Munich, where it actually takes place August 18–19. He lays his plans before them by reading them the speech which he had prepared for the family council of the Rothschilds. Güdemann is deeply moved, Cohen—though a Zionist—is critical. But it is decided that the Rothschilds should not hear that speech. Instead the two counsel Herzl to lay his plans before the masses by the writing of the novel. And once again Herzl is thrown back on the idea of action through a book rather than through direct participation. But he does not remain there long, for about now starts his real apostolic career. He is on the look-out for men, and he hunts them restlessly, trying them out one after another. He is forever finding and rejecting, finding and rejecting. From now on the *Diaries* become the story of action; theoretical observations become rarer, except in connection with some discussion.)

August 22, 1895.

FROM a letter to Güdemann:

"You said it was a *Narrishkeit* to have sent that indefinite letter to Albert Rothschild. Yes; it was impossible for me to know that he was such a *parach*."

September 20, 1895.

Beginning of September I left Aussee for Vienna. My first conversation with Bacher [one of his chiefs on the *Neue Freie Presse*], which I had with him on the day of my return, showed me at once that he was absolutely unreceptive to my idea, and that he would perhaps fight it decisively. Thereupon I gave my conversation a theoretical turn.

Bacher considers the anti-Semitic movement transitory, though "uncomfortable."

I then left for Baden, where I met Güdemann frequently. Since that meeting in Munich he had become somewhat luke-warm, but I raised his enthusiasm up again.

By means of Güdemann I came to place the matter before Dr. Ehrlich, as a journalistic financial expert.

One Sunday I went over to Ehrlich in Vöslau, and for two hours before the meal, and two hours after, read him the speech to the Rothschilds.

Result: he was captured, deeply shaken, did not consider me at all crazy, and really had no financial-technical or politico-economic objections to offer.

In between Güdemann has had a visit from a Paris member of the *Alliance Israélite*. He told me wonders about this Leven.

(Later Herzl makes a special journey to Salzburg to become acquainted with Leven. And from Leven he learns for the first time about the Zionist movement and the Zionist leaders who already were at work. Leven himself was not captured by Herzl, but Herzl did not consider the attempt a complete loss.)

He told me that the next man for me to approach was Zadoc Kahn, Chief Rabbi of Paris. Zadoc, he says, is an enthusiastic Zionist, and in part shares

my ideas, which are by no means unique. These words of Leven pleased me more than anything else. I said: "I don't want to be an inventor at all. The more people there are with my universal idea, the better I like it."

Leven was of the opinion that I should find many supporters in Russia. A certain man Pinsker had lived in Odessa, and had struggled for the same idea—the rehabilitation of a Jewish homeland. Pinsker is unfortunately dead. His writings, said Leven, were marvelous. I must read them as soon as I have time.

Another Jew in England, a Colonel Goldsmid, is also an enthusiastic Zionist; he had wanted to charter ships to conquer Palestine.

(October 15th Herzl notes that he has again met Güdemann, again found his enthusiasm evaporated, and again restored it. October 17th he tries to win another disciple.)

October 18, 1895.

Yesterday I spoke for three hours with bank-director Dessauer, and I won him! He considers the migration of the Jews by means of the Bank quite possible. The Rothschilds were not to be counted on. He thought it best to start the Society of Jews with only four million pounds, and emit further bonds later.

I told him: I should rather do nothing at all. A gradual infiltration of Jews will—as always—soon awaken anti-Semitism.

October 19, 1895.

I spoke with Dessauer again. He got cold feet in between.

Finished.

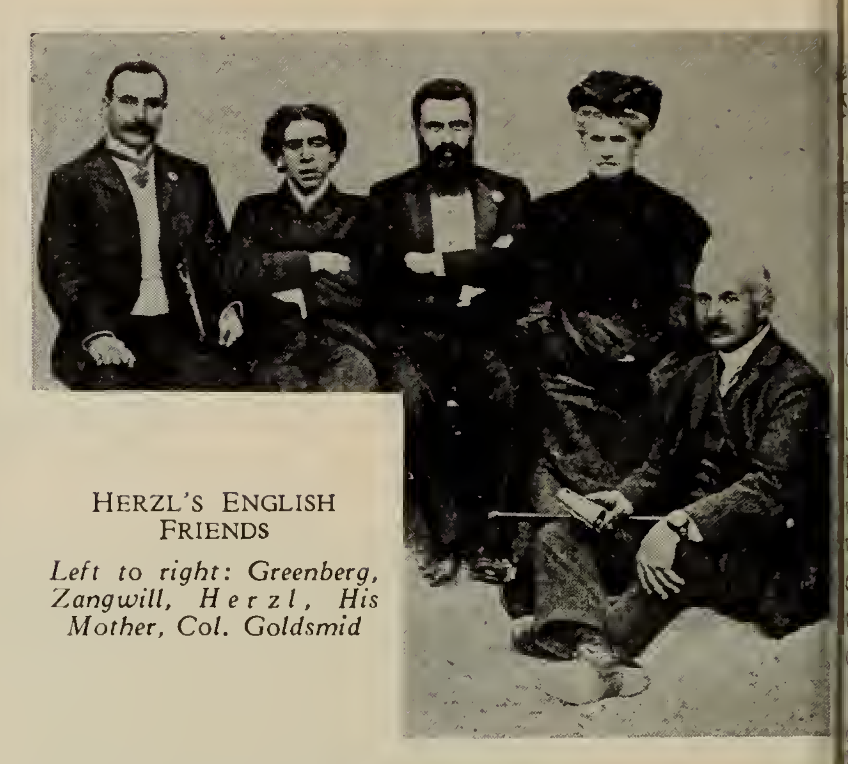
(Herzl's next big attempt is to win over Benedikt, another of the heads of the *Neue Freie Presse*. He sets great store by this. October 20th he lays his plans before Benedikt in a long and earnest conversation. Herzl wants the *Neue Freie Presse*, a newspaper owned and directed by Jews, to become the mouthpiece of his idea. Benedikt is deeply moved by Herzl's plans. At one time Herzl thinks that he has the man won.)

THIS walk of ours to Mauer—I said this to Benedikt as we came back by carriage—was a historic one.

I cannot hide from myself the fact that this has meant a decisive turn for me. I have set myself in motion. Until now everything was dreaming and chatter. The *act* has now begun, because from now on I shall have the *Neue Freie Presse* either for me or against me.

I shall be the Parnell of the Jews.

(But the *Neue Freie Presse* is not to be won. Later there comes an offer from Count Badeni: a newspaper of which Herzl is to be editor-in-chief. Again Herzl thinks he might do something in this direction for his idea. Again it comes to nothing. Between the two projects—winning over the *Neue Freie Presse* and starting a paper of his own—Herzl loses many days. But he is convinced now that he needs an organ for the launching of the idea of the Jewish State. He believes at one time that even though he cannot get the *Neue Freie Presse*, as such, Benedikt and Bacher may help him personally. But that too comes to nothing. Güdemann grows feebler and feebler in his enthusiasm. He cannot understand why Herzl turned Count



HERZL'S ENGLISH FRIENDS

Left to right: Greenberg, Zangwill, Herzl, His Mother, Col. Goldsmid

Badeni down; he might have used the Count's influence anyway fo[r] the benefit of the Jews. Herzl begins to understand that Güdemann on whom he has spent so much time, will mean little to him.

November 16th he is back in Paris, ready to start a new sectio[n] of his life as Jewish leader. He goes to see Zadoc Kahn, and Kah[n] listens "apparently with interest" to the two-hour reading. But—

Zadoc Kahn is of the *small* race of Jews. I shoul[d] be astonished if I got serious help of any kind fro[m] him.

November 17, 1895.

Spoke with Nordau.

Nordau is the second case of lightning-like under[-]standing. The first was Benedikt. But Nordau understood me as supporter, Benedikt primarily a[s] opponent.

Nordau will go with me, I believe, through thic[k] and thin. He would make a good President for ou[r] Academy, or Minister of Education.

(Nordau recommends him to try London, particularly the Macca[-]bæans, and offers to introduce him to Zangwill, a member of th[e] Club. Herzl knows nothing about Zangwill except that he is [a] "writer.")

November 17, 1895.

The French Jews are apparently not to be won ove[r] to the idea. They are still too comfortable.

(Zadoc Kahn has Herzl meet some people at his home. Nothin[g] comes of these meetings. Then Herzl decides to accept Nordau['s] advice, and try to do something through London.)

November 19, 1895.

Nordau seems to be won for the thing . . .

He believes the plan will need three hundred yea[rs] for its realization.

I believe thirty—if the idea breaks through.

The center of action has shifted to London.

(Then comes the first English episode. Herzl visits Israel and Lou Zangwill. Israel Zangwill will present him to the Maccabæan[s]. He visits the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Adler and—)

THE Chief Rabbi advised me against the Macca[-]bæans—they were young people, without influ[-]ence. It would be better if I tried Lord Rothschi[ld]

nd others. He gave me a letter of introduction to r Samuel Montagu.

(Among others Herzl meets Rabbi Singer, Colonel Goldsmid—who akes a profound impression on him—Asher Myers, Editor of *The wish Chronicle*, Solomon J. Solomon, the painter.)

The Chief Rabbi said: "We shall put your plan efore the Anglo-Russian Committee, and they will ecide whether they will participate in your matter."

I replied: "Naturally the Committee will take p this matter, but I shall not place it before them. cannot be majorized. Whoever comes with me, is elcome. I turn first to the Jews with names, those ho have signalized themselves till now by their fforts, but I do not need them. I cannot but desire have notable people come with us. But I am not ependent on them."

(On the evening of the 24th Herzl holds his first semi-public speech n the subject of the *Judenstaat*—before the Maccabæan Club of ondon. He is well received—but has not yet set anything in otion. It is in England, however, that he takes the decisive step: e promises Asher Myers to send him a résumé of the *Judenstaat*, to e published in *The Jewish Chronicle*. This promise makes inevitable e publication of *Der Judenstaat* in full, and a new epoch is thereby be opened in Herzl's life. December 15th he is back in Vienna, nd opens negotiations with publishers for the publication of *Der udenstaat*. Two firms—one of them Jewish, in Berlin—refuse it. A ird publisher, Breitenstein, accepts. Meanwhile the article, ppearing in *The Jewish Chronicle*, makes the first public stir.)

January 25, 1896.

DR. LIEBEN, secretary of the local Jewish community, came up to the editorial offices. Lieben ad received an inquiry from London as to whether was the author of the Utopia in *The Jewish Chronicle*. le had answered that he did not think so, as he knew me to be a sensible person."

When I said to him that I was a national Jew, he eplied: "You are only talking yourself into it."

I took no further trouble with him.

(Benedikt, of the *Neue Freie Presse*, hearing of all this, tries hard to ersuade Herzl to withdraw publication of *Der Judenstaat*. Herzl ow receives letters from various countries, in response to his article. e begins to believe that it will come to an open fight between him nd the *N. F. P.* if he does not give in to Benedikt, but he knows at he cannot give in, and says so to Benedikt. He is ready for the truggle.)

February 3, 1896.

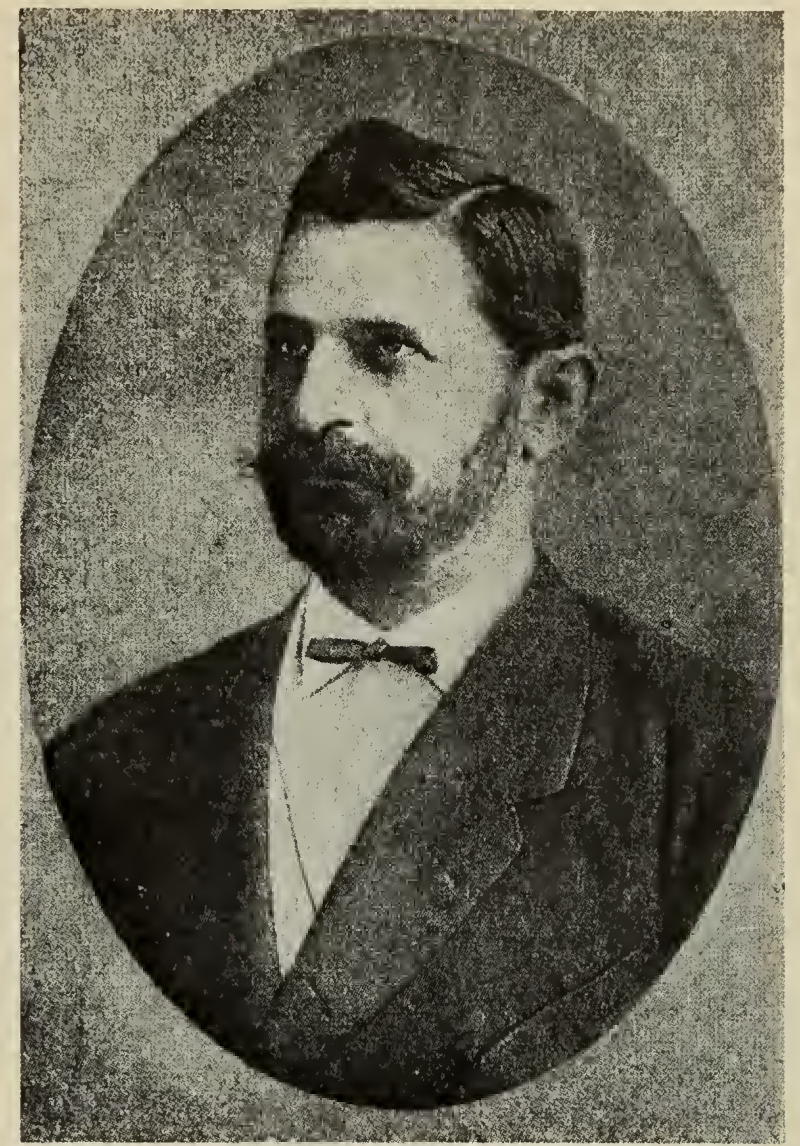
How right I was when I told my parents this fternoon that I am in the midst of the fight now. he fight is between me and the *Neue Freie Presse*, etween the employe and the chief. He has the ower of his superior position; I have right on my ide.

February 4, 1896.

If they force me out of the editorial offices, I must mmediately have another paper at my disposal.

I am risking a great deal—my entire position and he *Neue Freie Presse* too.

(Herzl now begins to foresee the ridicule as well as the opposition e will meet. But he proceeds with the publication of the *Judenaat*, refusing to yield to Benedikt. On February 15th the first opies are on sale in Vienna.)



JACOB HERZL
"My Good Father Is My Only Support"

Now my good father is my only support. All those with whom I have taken council till now are holding back cautiously, waiting. Near me I feel this dear old man. He stands like a tree.

February 17, 1896.

No paper has uttered an opinion as yet. But the pamphlet is becoming a subject of conversation. Acquaintances ask me: "Is the pamphlet they are speaking about by you? Is it a jest, or is it in earnest?"

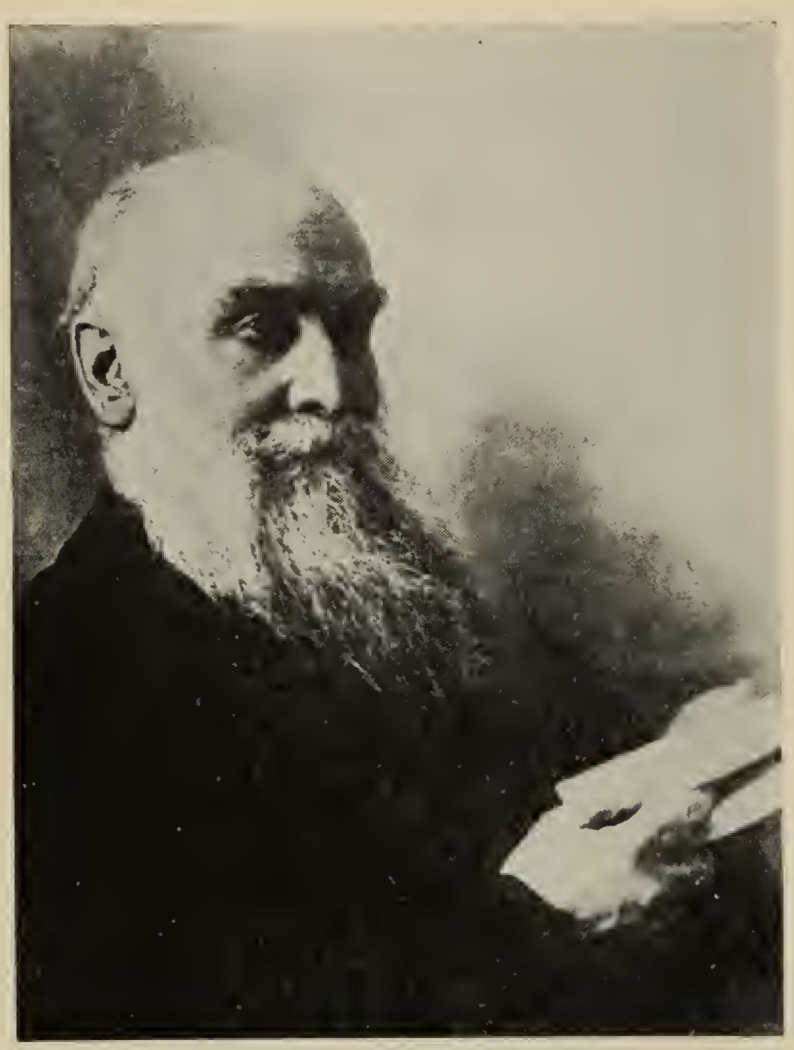
I answer: "Deadly earnest! Naturally a man who undertakes something of this character must be prepared to have the street arabs running after him. There are also higher grades of street arabs."

(In the meantime Jewish student bodies in Vienna approach Herzl. They are among his first supporters. Various other Zionist organizations communicate with him. Herzl does not decide yet to launch public action. He is still waiting.)

March 10, 1896.

The Reverend William Hechler, Chaplain of the English Embassy here, came to see me.

A sympathetic, gentle fellow, with the long, gray beard of a prophet. He is enthusiastic about my solution of the Jewish question. He also considers my movement a "prophetic turning-point"—which he had foretold two years before. From a prophecy



WILLIAM HECHLER
"A Sympathetic, Gentle Fellow"

in the time of Omar (637 C.E.) he had reckoned that at the end of forty-two prophetic months (total 1260 years) the Jews would get Palestine back. The figure he arrived at was 1897–98.

When he had read my book he ran at once to Ambassador Monson and said: "The prophesied movement is here."

(On March 17th the *Diaries* record the fact that Herzl was examined by a doctor and his heart was found to have been affected by all the excitement.)

This Dr. Beck does not know that I am taken up with the Jewish affair; neither do his friends, the Jews among whom he moves.

April 10, 1896.

A *Privatgelehrter* by the name of Carl Bleicher came to see me. At first I thought he was a *schnorrer* who wanted a small contribution for a book of his own. But he would take nothing, and placed himself at my disposal as propagandist. I note this because it is a sign of the way the poor have been gripped. This poor old man, who lives on gifts of small coins, opened his purse, showed me what he had, and refused my offer. This is the most important difference between my effect and that of Baron de Hirsch. They beg from him but do not love him. I am loved by the beggars. That is why I am the stronger.

(Support comes in from various quarters. The three brothers Marmorek of Paris are with him. A resolution comes from the Zionists of Sophia, six hundred signatures. The "liberal" *Gemeinderat* Alfred Stern comes to see him and expresses his faith in his views.)

BEGINNING DIPLOMATIC WORK

(Herzl's first diplomatic work begins. Dr. Hechler, Chaplain the British Embassy in Vienna, is the first intermediary.)

April 14, 1896.

THE English pastor Hechler came to me th afternoon in great excitement. He was at the cour where the German Kaiser arrived to-day, and spol with the general superintendent, Dryander, and wi others of the Kaiser's suite. He went walking wi them for two hours in the city and told them of t contents of my pamphlet, which astonished the greatly. He said to them that the time had con "to fulfill prophecy."

Now he wants me to come with him to-morrow Karlsruhe, to the Grand Duke, where the Kaiser going to-morrow evening. It was Hechler's idea go first to the Grand Duke, to tell him what t matter in hand was, and then to explain that he h brought me to Karlsruhe against my will so that could give more detailed explanations.

I excused myself from going along; it had somethi of the adventurer in my eyes.

Was at the opera, right opposite the Imperi loge, and the whole evening I studied the motio of the German Kaiser. Eleven o'clock I came hom Hechler had been waiting an hour for me. He want to leave the next morning at seven o'clock f Karlsruhe.

He sat in quiet conversation with me until ha past twelve. The refrain: "To fulfill prophecy."

April 18, 1896.

Hechler telegraphs from Karlsruhe:

"Had two conversations with His Majesty a His Imperial Highness. Must still wait."

April 21, 1896.

Nothing more from Hechler. Meanwhile t Kaiser has left Karlsruhe for Coburg.

I wrote to Nordau, entrusting to him the dipl matic mission to put feelers out toward de Hirsc If de Hirsch were to give us a couple of millions the a would have a tremendous repercussion, and we shou have something to use as *baksheesh* in Turkey.

I began the letter to Nordau yesterday and end it to-day.

In between de Hirsch has died on an estate in Hungar I learned this one hour after mailing the letter Nordau. Now I must recall that letter by telegrap But what an extraordinary coincidence. For mont the pamphlet (*Der Judenstaat*) had been lying read I gave it to every one but not to de Hirsch. At t moment when I resolved to do so, he died. H co-operation could have helped us to hasten our su cess greatly.

In any case his death is a loss to the Jewish worl Of the rich Jews, he was the only one who want to do something big for the poor. Perhaps I did n

know how to handle him properly. Perhaps I should have written that letter to Nordau fourteen days ago.

Hechler telegraphs from Karlsruhe: "Third conference yesterday. Fourth to-day at four o'clock. Hard work to get my wishes put through. Nevertheless all well."

April 21, 1896, at night.

I wanted to go to Pest to-morrow. Late in the evening I got Hechler's call to Karlsruhe.

Strange day de Hirsch dies and I enter into relation with princes.

A new book opens in the Jewish matter. . . .

VOLUME THREE

(On Sunday, April 22, 1896, Herzl is on the Orient Express, headed for Karlsruhe, on his first appointment with a European prince to discuss the Jewish question. He records that it is a beautiful day. The weather and the excitement of the occasion fill him with strange thoughts.)

AT THIS moment I must think of the dead Baron de Hirsch.

He who lives is in the right. I am in the right—as long as I live.

The Jews have lost de Hirsch, but they have me.

And after me they will have others. . . .

I don't know much about the Grand Duke, except that he is an old man and was the friend of Friedrich. Now Wilhelm seems to listen to him. Much depends upon this interview and upon the effect I shall produce upon him.

Yet I must not become dizzy upon these heights. I shall think of death and be serious.

I shall be cold, calm, firm, modest, but determined.

April 23, 1896.

ARRIVED here eleven o'clock last night. Hechler met me at the station.

He told me the circumstances. The Grand Duke had received him at once, when he arrived, but wanted first to have in hand the report of the councillor on the *Judenstaat*.

Hechler showed the Grand Duke the *Prophetic Tables*—which, it appeared, made an impression.

When the Kaiser arrived, he was immediately informed on the matter by the Grand Duke. Hechler was invited to a reception, and, to the astonishment of the court, the Kaiser spoke to him jestingly, saying: "Hechler, I hear you want to be a minister in a Jewish State."

The result with the Kaiser was therefore very small.

But he was much more fortunate with the Grand Duke. He was admitted to him several times. The Grand Duke spoke of his dead son, Ludwig, whose tutor Hechler had been, and wept bitterly. Hechler comforted him, and read him a psalm in which the word Zion occurs.

Then the Grand Duke let him speak further. The Duke's chief fear was that if he went in on the plan it might be falsely interpreted. It might be said of him that he was driving the Jews out of his country. Also he was pulled up by my position as a journalist. Hechler guaranteed that nothing would appear in the papers.

Then the Grand Duke asked what it was that he could do.

Hechler answered: "Your majesty was the first among the German princes at the gathering in Versailles to call King Wilhelm Kaiser. If now you would only participate also in the second great state-founding of the century. For the Jews will become a *grande nation*."

Dined with Hechler. He had brought his orders with him and was more excited than I. I dressed only after dinner, half an hour before the audience. Hechler asked me whether I would put on a frock coat. I said no, because too festive attire on such an occasion might also be considered tactless. The Grand Duke wanted to speak with me, as it were, incognito. I therefore put on my tried redingote. External details



GRAND DUKE OF BADEN
"He Listened With Great Friendliness"

become more and more important, the higher one goes. For everything becomes symbolic.

Hechler, in excellent mood, said: "Mark this beautiful day, this gentle spring sky over Karlsruhe! Perhaps one year from to-day we shall be in Jerusalem." Hechler said he would ask the Grand Duke to accompany the Kaiser next year to the dedication of the Church in Jerusalem. I was to be there too, and Hechler would go along as the scientific companion of the Grand Duke.

On entering the palace I tried to divert the power of the impression by making, like a report, a regular inventory of what I saw: green plush furniture, the brown curved wood of the chair-legs, covered with light gold; photographs of the three Kaisers.

Fortunately Hechler kept chattering incessantly. . . .

Then the chamberlain came and invited us into the next salon. The Grand Duke had only gone for a brief stroll in the garden and would soon return.

Hechler continued to chatter, to keep me in countenance with his continuous talk. If it was done purposely, it was very fine.

Indeed, he had prepared me for everything in the most delicate fashion. For instance, he had told me on the way to take my glove off my right hand in case the Grand Duke should extend his to me.

Suddenly the door of the apartment opened, and an old, solid, but not stout-looking general entered: the Grand Duke. We sprang up from our armchairs. I bowed twice. The Grand Duke extended his hand to Hechler—he made no use of my carefully ungloved right hand. With a gesture, he invited us to follow him. I entered last and closed the door behind me. I really don't know what his workroom looks like, for the entire time I had to keep my eyes, either as speaker or listener, on the Grand Duke. He is seventy years old, but looks from six to eight years younger.

At the beginning I spoke with some embarrassment. I thought it best to speak in a lower voice, so that the usual self-intoxication of speech disappeared. After the first friendly questions as to my journey and my quarters, I told him what I was by profession, and explained my previous position on the paper in Paris.

The Grand Duke said: "I get the *Neue Freie Presse.*" He inquired after Paris, and I described the parliamentary crisis, and in particular the present Bourgeois cabinet.

After a few minutes he interrupted me: "We want to speak of other matters."

Whereupon I plunged at once into the subject, and begged him to interrupt me with questions whenever my exposition was not clear.

So I unrolled the entire question. Unfortunately I was compelled to concentrate so closely on what I was saying, that I was unable to observe him closely. Hechler said later that the conversation should have been taken down in shorthand. He thought I had spoken very well, and had found some first-class expressions.

I only know that the Grand Duke had his fine blue eyes and his calm, kindly face constantly turned on me, and that he listened with great friendliness; and whenever he himself spoke it was with indescribable modesty. After that strain of two and a half hours I was so weakened that I can no longer remember the exact course of the conversation.

In any case, the Grand Duke took my creation of the State in utmost seriousness. His principal worry was that if he were to declare himself for the thing it might be regarded as anti-Semitism.

I explained to him that only those Jews would go who wanted to.

It was his opinion that the governments could take the matter up properly only when they had the Society of Jews to deal with.

I naturally spoke in the contrary sense. Let a few princes first declare themselves favorably: then the Society of Jews would from the outset have more authority. And authority was necessary if the great move were to be made in an orderly fashion. The Jews had to be educated and disciplined to the idea of the migration.

The Grand Duke then turned toward Hechler:

"The co-operation of England and Germany on this matter is unlikely enough. The relations are just now unfortunately disturbed. Will England help?"

I said: "The English Jews must look after that."

The Grand Duke, somewhat distrustful, said: "If they can."

I said: "When it is known that the Grand Duke of Baden is interested in the matter, it will make a profound impression."

He said, quickly: "That is not so. My position is not big enough. Yes, if the German Kaiser, or the King of Belgium were to do it."

I stood firm: "Yes, if an experienced prince, who helped to create the German Empire, and whose advice is now sought by the German Kaiser, were to declare himself on the side of this new enterprise, it would make a tremendous impression. Your Majesty is the adviser of the Kaiser."

He smiled: "I advise him and he does what he likes."

Then he asked me whether I had yet taken any steps with the Sultan.

I answered, thinking of Newlinsky, that some one had offered to speak to the Sultan for me.

I then explained the advantages which the plan had for the Orient. If Turkey were going to be partitioned within a reasonable length of time we could create in Palestine an *état tampon*. In the event of Turkey's enduring we could still contribute a great deal. We could definitely settle the problem of the national budget of the Sultan in ex ange for this territory, which was not of much use to him.

The Grand Duke asked whether it would not be better first to bring a couple of hundred thousand Jews to Palestine, and then raise the question.

I said, in a decisive tone: "I am opposed to that. For then the Jews would have to rise against the Sultan as insurgents. I want to do everything openly and clearly, within absolutely legal limits."

At first the Grand Duke looked at me in astonishment when I spoke so energetically; then he nodded his approval.

I spoke of the general advantages of the Jewish State for Europe. We should lay down the rails toward Asia, the highway for the cultured peoples. And this highway would not be in the possession of any one of the Great Powers.

The Grand Duke said: "It would also solve the Egyptian question. England hangs on to Egypt because she must defend her road toward India. Actually Egypt costs more than it is worth."

Finally the Grand Duke said again: "I should like to see it happen. I believe it would be a blessing for many people."

(Herzl is now definitely engaged on his first negotiations. Michael von Newlinsky—director of the *Correspondence de l'Est*—is to be of great service to Herzl in obtaining the first audience with the Sultan. At this time Newlinsky is on a mission from the Sublime Porte, trying to straighten out the Armenian question, which is agitating Europe. Herzl promises help, and tries to do something for him *vis-à-vis* Lord Salisbury, *via* Hechler. In exchange Newlinsky is to help him with the Sultan. The negotiations move forward. Meanwhile other questions are agitating Herzl. He still thinks of a paper of his own. The Zionists begin to get in touch with him in increasing numbers. But his attitude is to be gauged from the two following excerpts.)

May 21, 1896.

LAWYER BODENHEIMER of Cologne asks me to come to the gathering of the German Zionists in Berlin at the end of June. I answered him, in part, as follows:

"I have the deepest admiration and gratitude for what the Zionists have done till now, but I am opposed on principle to infiltration. The method of infiltration, if it is permitted to continue, will lead to higher land prices, and it will be continuously more difficult to buy the land. The idea of a 'declaration of independence' as soon as we are there in sufficient numbers I consider impracticable, for even if the Porte were weak enough to make this possible, the Powers would be against it. My plan is much rather the stoppage of infiltration and the concentration of all our forces on the obtaining of an international legal right to Palestine. To this end there must be diplomatic negotiations, which have already been begun, and publicity action on the very largest scale."

May 8, 1896.

The Chassid Aaron Marcus of Podgorze has again written me a fine letter, in which he places before me the possibility of having three million Chassidim of Poland [illegible]ter the movement.

I answe[illegible] him that the co-operation of the Orthodox is highly welcome—but a theocracy will not be created.

(Herzl is meanwhile engaged on preparations for negotiations with Turkey.)

May 7, 1896.

This evening I had my mother's cousin explain the financial situation of Turkey to me.

As far as I can see till now, the financial plan will have to consist of the following: the elimination of the European Control Commission, payment of interest on the debt by our Jewish *regie*, so that the Sultan may get rid of this control and be able to make fresh loans *ad libitum*.

(He gets other offers of help, but thinks it best to refuse.)

Two young fellows of the Kadimah, Schalit and Neuberger, were here. It seems that the assimilationists are getting the upper hand at the University. They refuse to have any discussions of Zionism in the *Lesehalle*. They also tell me that a proposition has been made that volunteers to the number of one or two thousand should be enrolled and that the attempt should be made to effect a landing at Jaffa. Even if some lives were to be lost thus, Europe would at least be made aware of the aspirations of the Jews.

I advised against this beautiful Garibaldi idea, for this thousand will not, like the thousand at Marsala, find a nationally prepared population. After twenty-four hours the landing would be suppressed like a schoolboy prank.

(General observations have now almost disappeared from the *Diaries*. But the few that occur are fascinating.)

May 12, 1896.

Great things do not need to have a firm foundation. An apple must be put on the table, so that it should not fall. The earth swims in space.

In the same way I may perhaps found and secure the Jewish State without a firm hold on anything.

The secret lies in movement. I believe that on this principle will be ultimately invented the steerable airship. Weight must be overcome by motion: not the ship, but the movement, must be steered.

(Herzl is now conducting an enormous correspondence with various countries. Meanwhile, in keeping with the observation recorded above, he is figuring in millions of pounds, though the moneyed Jews have so far turned him down. And Nordau, in Paris, will not start a general appeal for funds unless a few millionaires make the first big donations. Edmond Rothschild, in Paris, is opposed to Herzl's ideas as dangerous. The following excerpt from a conversation with Newlinsky indicates the measure of Herzl's ideas.)

June 15, 1896.

HIS questions brought us to the financial plan, for which I was not really prepared. . . .

Without preparation I told him that we imagine that Palestine would be given to us for twenty million pounds [one hundred million dollars].

We should use the £20,000,000 for the regulation of Turkey's finances. Two million would be given



DECORATIONS FROM THE SULTAN

to Palestine on the basis of the capitalization of its present yield of £80,000 annually. With the other £18,000,000 we should free Turkey from the Control Commission. The holders of the bonds A, B, C and D of the public debt would be persuaded by our offer of higher returns to call for the suspension of the Commission.

Riechenfeld [his mother's cousin—see above] to whom I unfolded this plan in detail was astonished, and asked me what financier had worked it out for me. I wrapped myself in a mysterious silence.

To-day Newlinsky bought his tickets for Constantinople.

(Herzl now sets out for Constantinople. One of his last entries in the *Diaries*, before he leaves, has to do with the rise of Zionist opposition.)

As among some of the students, so among the adult Zionists, too, there seems to be a certain dissatisfaction with my success. I hear that "counter-tendencies" are manifesting themselves—already!

(The train carrying him toConstantinople stops at Sofia, where a great crowd of Bulgarian Jews comes to greet him. He is deeply moved by the demonstration but Newlinsky and Ziad, another Turkish official, seem to be less impressed, or perhaps refuse to show it. They arrive in Constantinople and there begin the laborious diplomatic manœuvres for an interview with the Sultan. Izzet Bey, first Secretary to the Sultan, is sounded out by Newlinsky, and is found to be opposed to the plan. So is the Grand Vizier. At the moment Russian influence is strong at the Sublime Porte—Herzl thinks of seeing the Russian Ambassador. He uses every approach he can: is introduced to Djewad Bey, son of the Grand Vizier, and tries to win him. At last he is received by the Grand Vizier himself—but cannot change his attitude. Approach to the Sultan is barred. Herzl does not give up. Finally Newlinsky speaks to the Sultan about Herzl and his plans—and brings Herzl the following answer:)

June 19, 1896.

The Sultan said: "If Mr. Herzl is such a friend of mine as you say he is, then you will advise him to take no further steps in this matter. I cannot part with a foot's breadth of land, for it does not belong to me but to my people. My army has conquered and fertilized this soil with its blood. We shall cover it with our blood before they will tear it from us. Two of my regiments, from Syria and Palestine, let themselves be wiped out to a man at Plevna. Not one flinched; they remained on the battle-field, dead, to a man. The Turkish empire does not belong to me but to the Turkish people. I can't give any part of it away. Let the Jews keep their billions. If my empire will be split up, they will perhaps get Palestine for nothing. But before then they will split up our corpse. I won't permit vivisection."

Newlinsky was pleasantly surprised by the fact that I did not permit this disappointment to show itself in a depression.

I immediately thought of other combinations, and I thought of the following, which I told Newlinsky to bear carefully in mind: we should look for methods by which we could convince the Sultan, and his entourage, from the outset, of our devotion to him.

Newlinsky must try through Izzet Bey and by direct request to get me an audience in spite of everything. I want to submit our proposition to the Sultan *tout en m'inclinant respectueusement devant sa volonté*. If the day should ever come, let him remember that the Jews will be prepared to put their gold at his service for the regulation of the financial situation of Turkey.

In the afternoon I was with Margueritte, the favorite of the Grand Vizier, by the sweet waters of Europa.

Margueritte places himself at my service. He can get whatever he likes from the Grand Vizier.

He promised to get Djewad Bey, the son of the Grand Vizier, to intervene for me.

June 20, 1896.

IN THE morning, at breakfast in our salon, we make war plans. I suggest to Newlinsky that we make a tentative offer in the Palais of the Sublime Porte. I shall make efforts to obtain a little loan of one or two millions, which in my opinion will not compromise my further plans. The money would be thrown into a bottomless barrel. But by means of it we shall get a firm footing here, and get ourselves liked.

I tell Newlinsky to make any sort of offer as long as he can get the Sultan to receive me. If I have to return with "No" as an answer, not even having been received, everything will be considered a dream.

For the time being no one of course dares to speak to the Sultan about me.

Izzet Bey, however, offers the following counsel: the Jews get themselves a territory elsewhere and en offer it to Turkey in exchange (with money in dition).

I immediately think of Cyprus.

June 21, 1896.

Yesterday the Sultan told Newlinsky that he ould not receive me as a journalist, because after cher's interview the *Neue Freie Presse* had made a ong attack on him personally.

I promise Newlinsky that I am prepared to help m and the Sultan all I can in the Armenian question. ey could give me a pragmatic picture of the menian situation: what persons there are in Lonn to influence, what newspapers to win over, etc. course my work would be made much lighter the Sultan would receive me.

June 22, 1896.

Newlinsky said: "He will receive you later and corate you with a high Order."

I answered: "I don't need the Order. What I ant now is only that he receive me. *Planter le emier jalon*—that is our present task."

Newlinsky, whose diplomatic finesse and cleverss rouse my admiration more and more, believes at the first thing for me to do is to get a position yself in the Palace and then, without any interediary, who would appear to have been bought me, keep on returning to the Jewish question.

That is an excellent idea.

I keep pressing Newlinsky hourly to get me that dience with the Sultan, so that my London friends ay believe that I have been here.

Had the Sultan said "Yes" he would not have eded to receive me. I should have left, and should ave started the thing going.

But now that he has said "No" it is absolutely ssential that he receive me, so that my friends may e *que tout n'est pas rompu*.

June 23, 1896.

A great deal happened yesterday. Také Maruerítte spoke to the Grand Vizier, and said that I ad asked him to do me the service of letting me interiew him. Khalil Rifat Pasha answered that he vould receive me.

Thereupon I telegraphed Benedikt that I was going to speak with the Grand Vizier about politics n general, that I would wire the interview, but on ondition that in the editorial comment there should e a note on the extremely friendly way in which I ave been received here.

Benedikt answers by wire: "Will do what you vant."

I expected that.

Newlinsky is a peculiarly interesting person, who s treated unjustly in Vienna.

His character becomes more and more sympathetic o me the more I get to know him. If only he had nough money he would be one of the finest *grand seigneurs* and diplomats of world historic importance. He is an unfortunate Pole and often says: "Since I can't make politics for my own country, I care for nothing. I undertake art journeys in politics, like a piano virtuoso—that is all."

It is difficult not to be touched by this noble Polish melancholy. . . .

June 26, 1896.

NEWLINSKY reports on his audience with the Sultan.

The Sultan began to speak of me of his own accord. He sent his thanks for the article in the *Neue Freie Presse* which I had telegraphed.

Then he began to speak of Palestine. First of all he reproached Newlinsky that he had submitted the matter in a thoughtless way. Newlinsky ought to have known that, circumstances being what they are here, a proposition for the purchase of Palestine, in the form he made it, was impossible. But as he—the Sultan—had heard, the friends of Herzl were thinking ultimately of getting an exchange.

The exchange idea, which came from Izzet Bey, seems to have been raised by the latter at the suggestion of the Sultan.

Newlinsky did not know what to answer on the spot, and referred to the detailed information which I could supply. It was my deepest wish to be received by his Majesty.

Thereupon the Sultan answered: "I shall see. In any case I shall receive Herr Herzl—sooner or later."

Newlinsky drew his attention to the fact that I had to speak with my friends in London during the first few days in July. The Sultan repeated: "I shall see."

So it is possible that I shall be received after all.

The Sultan made a further and even more astonishing disclosure: he has already been sounded by one of the Powers as to the stand he was taking on my proposal.

Newlinsky could not ask which of the Powers it was.

(I must make a parenthesis for myself at this point: After all, I have managed to set the thing going, if this plan of mine, which so many people have declared to be crazy, is to-day already a subject for diplomatic steps among Great Powers. Poor Friedrich S.! Poor Moritz Benedikt!)

(In spite of his determination and his elasticity Herzl fails to see the Sultan during this visit to Constantinople. He leaves with the following note:)

June 28, 1896.

To-night we leave for Sofia.

The journey has cost me approximately three thousand *francs*.

The *fonds perdu* is growing.

June 29, 1896.

In the carriage Newlinsky tells me the following: "The Sultan told me he would have decorated you with an Order even if I had not asked for it. But he



COL. A. E. GOLDSMID

could not receive you this time because your plan had not remained secret and there were several who had reported on it. Under such circumstances the audience would no longer have been of an intimate character: and since the Sultan wanted to turn your proposition down, in its present form, he did not want to speak about it at all. But he said to me: 'The Jews are intelligent; they will manage to find a form which is acceptable.' From this it is clear that the Sultan only wanted to save his face, and I believe that in the end he will accept. He seems to be thinking of the exchange form; in any case, in diplomacy one should not speak too precisely about the kernel of a matter."

July 1, 1896.

Baden, near Vienna, with my parents.

Even the last day in the railway carriage Newlinsky was full of ideas. He is a rare, peculiar man of high gifts.

He had the following inspiration:

It ought to be suggested to the Sultan that he should authorize the Zionist movement to state on his behalf to all the Jews that he would open Palestine to them as a principate, with their own laws, army, etc., under his suzerainty. For this the Jews would pay a tribute of one million pounds per annum.

I find this idea excellent. I had already been thinking of something similar in Constantinople, but I said nothing about it. It is an acceptable proposition, and up to the present I had to make unacceptable propositions because I was not su[re] that the people in London would not ditch me at t[he] last moment.

Now I shall go with this proposition to Londo[n] where they await me with some excitement.

STARTING THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

(Herzl's second visit to London is to prove as important as t[he] first. During his first visit he was led to publish the résumé of t[he] *Judenstaat*, thus precipitating the publication of the book. Th[is] time the development of events is to compel him to take the fi[rst] steps toward launching a mass movement—which is to eventu[ate] in the First Congress and the World Zionist Organization. [He] arrives in London on July 5th, and is soon in touch with most of t[he] persons he met on his first visit. The English papers have alrea[dy] begun to take note of his work. In the Sunday *Times* there is [an] interview by Zangwill, and Lucien Wolf interviews him for T[he] *Daily Graphic*. Herzl first formulates the program of the Soci[ety] of Jews—the World Zionist Organization:)

July 5, 1896.

THE Society of Jews has as its task the obtainin[g], under legal sanction, of a territory for tho[se] Jews who cannot assimilate.

(On July 7th he speaks again before the Maccabæans. On t[his] occasion Herzl is much more successful than six months before, b[ut] as will be seen, the success is only partial. Meanwhile, he kee[ps] in touch with developments in France. He meets for the first ti[me] now a persistent rumor which is to cause him profound sufferi[ng] for some time.)

July 7, 1896.

Nordau wrote me yesterday of Zadoc Kahn['s] visit. Zadoc came to complain because—as he a[nd] Edmond Rothschild believe—as a result of my pub[li]cation the Turkish officials in Palestine have bee[n] making things miserable for the colonists and ha[ve] even begun to destroy the newest colony.

At the same time Nordau excuses himself in a som[e]what cooled tone for his absence from the Maccabæa[n] dinner.

I telegraphed at once to Zadoc Kahn:

"Just came from Constantinople. Your fea[rs] groundless. Sultan shows considerable goodwil[l]. If underlings have committed brutalities I am in [a] position to make complaints directly to him. Gi[ve] details."

To Newlinsky I telegraphed:

"Have begun to work effectively on the Pha[...] and Armenian matter. But everything hopeless [if] it turns out to be true that Turkish officials in Pale[s]tine are turning back new colonists with violenc[e]. Please ask Constantinople at once. Report resu[lt] here at once. Greetings. Theodor."

(He speaks at length with Samuel Montagu, who, together wi[th] Goldsmid, seems to be the most promising material.)

July 8, 1896.

I told him [Montagu] of the practical resul[t] from the Grand Duke to the Sultan.

He was moved and soon became enthusiastic.

A wonderful old man.

His first and chief reflection was that as soon as th[e] Sultan got the loan from the Jewish tribute he woul[d] choke the Jewish immigrants.

A vigorous ringing of the bell called Montagu ay for the vote on the tea tax. During the ten nutes of his absence I thought of a solution for s difficulty.

Let us assume that our tribute would be one million unds per annum, on which a loan of twenty million to be made by Turkey.

For the first years we should pay only one hundred ousand pounds, making possible a loan of two llion. Gradually, as the immigration rises, the bute too would rise, so that the loan too would e until the total amount had been reached; and that time there would be a large enough number Jews in Palestine, with their own military forces, obviate the fear of being choked off by the Turks.

then rode with Montagu to his house. On the y he said that it was absolutely necessary to try get Edmond Rothschild in.

He sees Goldsmid again, and thinks he finds him cooler than ore. This impression is confirmed when he is advised later that dsmid discouraged Edmond Rothschild from working with him below). Meanwhile he maintains his correspondence with ous countries, and in particular with the Grand Duke of Baden, greatest individual moral success up to this time. Also the enses of his enterprise keep mounting up.)

July 10, 1896.

Paid out nineteen pounds and some shillings to vid Nutt, the publisher, for the English edition the *Judenstaat*. He has sold only one hundred and ty copies.

Also sent Nordau three hundred *francs*, to pay the French translation.

Herzl's first contact with the masses is at the meeting in the rking Men's Club in the East End.)

THE hall is full, jammed to the doors with people. The platform is a theatre scene, in which I speak ely. I have put down on a piece of paper only a iple of slogans. I speak for an hour in that terrific it. Great success.

Speakers who follow praise me highly. One, Kishor, compares me with Moses, Columbus, . The chairman, Chief Rabbi Gaster, makes a y speech.

At the end I express thanks in a couple of words, which I protest against exaggerations.

Applause, shouting, waving of hats, cheers which heard out in the street.

It really depends on me whether I am to become the der of the masses; but I do not wish it, if I can in y way get the Rothschilds to co-operate by my pping out of the movement.

In the East End propaganda committees are spring- g up spontaneously: program, the *Judenstaat*.

Party leaders: Rabbinowitz, Ish Kishor, de Haas d others; fine, enthusiastic people.

July 14, 1896.

Last night I did either the most stupid or the verest thing yet done by me in this entire business. The Choveve Zion Society invited me to the head-quarters meeting. It was held in the East End, in the Spanish Synagogue at Bevis Marks. The discussion had been going on an hour and a half when I appeared; so I was told by young de Haas, who stood waiting for me at the entrance. The Choveve Zionists were prepared to go with me if I promised not to attack them again.

When I entered I was received with a friendly drumming on the tables, and as usual was given the place of honor. On the other side sat Goldsmid, looking somewhat dark.

They left off the reports which they had been discussing till then, on a new colony which was to cost I don't know how many hundred pounds: so many oxen, so many horses, seed, wood, etc.

The question was also raised whether the colonists were secure, to which the answer was in the negative.

That was the point I started from, when my matter came up for discussion. I wanted only that kind of colonization which we could protect with our own army. I was compelled to oppose infiltration. I should not interfere with the efforts of the Choveve Zion, but Edmond Rothschild's sport had to come to an end. He had to subordinate himself to the national aim and then I should be prepared not only to give him the highest place, but I should even compensate his entry into the leadership by my withdrawal.

Great agitation when I said this.

Dr. Hirsch spoke for a long time against me.

July 15, 1896.

WHILE I was packing my things in the hotel yesterday morning I was surprised by a visit from Ish Kishor. He is the poor Russian Jewish teacher whose jargon speech at the East End meeting touched me so deeply and carried the audience away.

On Sunday, while I sat on the platform, I was in a curious mood. I saw and heard the rising of my legend. The people are sentimental; the masses do not see clearly. I believe that even now they no longer have a clear idea of me. A light mist has begun to beat about me, which will perhaps deepen into a cloud in the midst of which I shall walk.

But even if they no longer see my outlines clearly, at least they understand that I mean well by them, I am the man of the poor.



SIR SAMUEL MONTAGU
"A Wonderful Old Man"

True, they would probably offer the same love to a skillful misleader and betrayer as they offer to me, in whom they are not deceived.

That perhaps is the most interesting thing I am recording in these books: the emergence of my legend.

And while I listened to those emphatic words and exclamations of my followers, I strengthened myself in the will to become ever more worthy of their faith and love.

Ish Kishor came to offer me the creation of an organization which would recognize me as its head. Hundreds of men would get together in the East End; in every country comrades would be won over to propagate the idea of the Jewish State.

I accepted this; and as de Haas, who wants to be my honorary secretary, came, I suggested to him the name: Knights of Zion. But I must remain on the outside, for I may not belong to any propaganda organization.

De Haas understood me and explained it to Ish Kishor. I wanted to get the poor together, in order to exercise pressure on the lukewarm and hesitant rich.

Later, when I went to Montagu to ask him to help me in the Armenian matter, I noted in his eagerness to be of service the effect of my success in the East End.

(Herzl returns to Paris to carry on the work. All this time he is still in the employ—as he continues to be till the end—of the *Neue Freie Presse*. He at last gets his meeting with Baron Edmond Rothschild and holds the speech which he had prepared nearly a year before. Rothschild does not budge. This finally decides Herzl; the organization of the masses must be the next step.)

July 20, 1896.

I wrote to de Haas in London that the organization of the masses could now begin. This will be my answer.

(He begins at the same time to set in motion a mass agitation in Paris. He speaks at a meeting of the Russian Jewish students in Paris. Nordau enters the committee for France.)

July 21, 1896.

In my speech I spared the finance Jews who are not in a hurry, and I closed with the words: "*Je ne dis pas encore: marchons—je dis seulement: la jeunesse, debout!*" [I do not say yet: Forward, march! I only say: On guard, the youth!]

I demanded that the organization of key men be begun.

Et nous voilà repartis de Paris.

This charming city never enchanted me as it did to-day, when I said farewell to it.

Will I see Paris again?

VOLUME FOUR

(The third book of the *Diaries* ends with the launching of the mass movement. The fourth opens with resumption of high diplomatic negotiations. On July 22, 1896, Herzl is in Carlsbad, called thither by Newlinsky, who has obtained an audience for him with Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria (later King of Bulgaria). Meanwhile, pu sued by the rumor that his efforts have led to oppressive measu against Jewish colonists in Palestine, he assures himself of th falsity of the report, and wires Rothschild as follows:)

July 22, 1896.

"TURKISH Ambassador writes: 'You may den categorically false and invented statemen obviously from unfriendly sources that Turk ish officials have expelled new Jewish colonists.' hear that there are various intrigues against me in th Yildiz Kiosk. If these intrigues emanate from som too zealous employee of yours, your responsibility wi be deeply engaged. I hope it is not true; we oug to reach an understanding. Herzl."

(The news that there were already intrigues against him in t Yildiz Kiosk (the Turkish Court) comes to Herzl *via* Newlinsk his indefatigable helper.)

July 22, 1896.

This morning I breakfasted with Newlinsky i the hotel garden. Prince Ferdinand of Bulgar sat down with his entourage at a table not far fro us. I noticed that I was being pointed out to hir Then he sent Fürth over to tell me that he wou receive me later in the garden arcade.

We watched, and when we saw him get up, Fürt Newlinsky and I followed him quickly.

He waited behind a bush. At a distance of t paces I took off my hat and he came two steps towa me. No introduction took place. He extended h hand to me, and I began at once to place the Jewi question before him. In the meantime we paced ba and forth. The entourage had withdrawn respec fully to a distance. A couple of times passing gue stopped and stared at us with open mouths. Onc when two of them stopped close by and listened, t Prince stamped his foot impatiently, and made motion with his umbrella as if he would strike the saying at the same time: "It is scandalous, the w one is pestered here. And the Christians are ev worse than the Jews."

(The two who interrupted us at that moment we recognizably Jewish.)

I placed my idea before him in laconically sh phrases. He was gripped by it swiftly.

"It is a magnificent idea," he said. "No one h ever spoken to me about the Jewish question in t fashion."

"I want to ask your Majesty to prepare the C for my plan and if possible to get an audience me."

"That is difficult," he said, thoughtfully. " is a question which involves religion. The fact that I am not in good odor with the Orthodox Gre Church."

He drew himself up and looked magnificent as bent his gaze on me. But most of the time he st leaning on his umbrella, bent somewhat toward When I moved back a step, to be at a more respec distance, he followed me, and even stepped on foot, saying "Pardon!"

He repeated that he was a friend of the Jews, and was happy to hear what I had to tell him about the Sultan and the Grand Duke of Baden.

"The Grand Duke," I explained, "is some good old King in a fairy tale. He is only afraid that his participation in my plan might be interpreted as anti-Semitism. It will therefore be my duty to explain to the world, and to the Jews in particular, that it is not a question of expulsion: it has to do rather with the benevolence of Kings."

He nodded approval, and promised me his full co-operation, on condition that I maintained secrecy. In Russia there was perhaps Archduke Vladimir who might be interested. The others spoke of Jews as if they were not human beings. The Prince then asked me to send him my book in German, Russian and English.

He wanted to get it read by others. I was also to write to him from time to time of developments.

He took friendly leave of me, and then Newlinsky told me that he had definitely promised his co-operation. I was under all circumstances to count on him.

(Herzl uses all his wits now to engage new forces on his side. Bismarck has read his book and thinks it merely a dream. Another man must be found to use pressure on the Sultan. In the meantime Jewish intrigues against Herzl in the Turkish palace cause him deepest pain.)

AGAINST these incredible Jewish intrigues we decided to do the following: Newlinsky was to write to Izzet Bey that if these intrigues did not spring from personal interest—which might well be the case—there were two considerations to be taken into account. First they were afraid that if a call for migration came, they would find increased anti-Semitism in the places which Jews at present occupy. Second, they were afraid that they would have on their hands a mass movement of poor Jews into Palestine.

July 24, 1896.

I must derive what advantage I can out of Rothschild's negative attitude. In particular, the "No" of Rothschild must help me to get the "Yes" of the Kaiser.

Ever and again the thought returns to me how little thankful the Jews are for the gigantic work which I am doing for them. If I were to drop the matter to-day it would certainly remain undone, and would not come to pass for decades—and even then only through the use of my ideas.

(A depressing period begins now for Herzl—during the latter part of 1896 he is at low ebb. The work continues, but he has moments of despair. He writes to Zadoc Kahn, still pressing his ideas, and urging the latter to try to win over Edmond Rothschild. He himself (Herzl) is ready to step down from the leadership and turn everything over to Rothschild as soon as the diplomatic preliminaries have made it possible to start the practical work. Newlinsky and Hechler are still at work for Herzl. He is on the *qui vive* for new figures through whom he can reach the rulers of Europe. He thinks of du Vernois, former War Minister for Prussia; Cardinal Rampolla (*via* Newlinsky); Prince Henry of Prussia; Günther von Schleswig-Holstein, brother of the Kaiserin, etc. At Görlitz Herzl sees the Kaiser frequently at a distance, and studies him as well as he can. A constant strain exists between Herzl and his Jewish chiefs on the Jewish-owned *Neue Freie Presse*. Intrigues against him begin to have their result. On one occasion Herzl is prepared to defend his honor in a duel, and takes steps to that end—but a change of front on the part of the two men involved makes this unnecessary.)

October 13, 1896.

I MUST admit openly to myself: I am demoralized!

Help from nowhere, attacks from everywhere. Nordau writes from Paris that no one is doing anything there. The Maccabæans in London are turning more Pickwickian every day, if I am to believe the reports of my faithful de Haas. In Germany I have only opponents. The Russians co-operate with the spectators in watching me tear myself to pieces, but no one helps me. In Austria—particularly in Vienna—I have only a few followers. Here the people who are not interested are inactive, and those who are active are only trying to push themselves with an editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

And now there is the campaign of slander.

(This campaign, which almost leads to a duel (see above), involves Herzl in ugly money accusations: he is trying to squeeze money out of Turkey for the *Neue Freie Presse*—and for himself. The rumors reach the *N. F. P.*, which defends itself by furiously attacking Turkey and asking for its dismemberment; this clears the *Neue Freie Presse*, but it makes Herzl's task the harder.)

October 14, 1896.

The Jews who are comfortable are, all of them, my enemies.

Thus I begin to have the right to be the greatest anti-Semite of all.

(The situation grows worse for him as he learns that there will probably be some international settlement of Turkish finances, thus making impossible his scheme for the purchase of Palestine. His relations to his employers on the *Neue Freie Presse* grow worse. He seems in daily danger of being compelled to resign his position.)

October 22, 1896.

A paper, a paper is absolutely necessary, but for that purpose I must have money, money. The family would put four hundred thousand *kronen* at my disposal, but at least a million must be had.

(In the midst of his despair he continues to work. He writes innumerable letters, receives visitors, pushes the organization forward.)

December 20, 1896.

I feel myself growing tired. I believe now more than ever before that my movement is at an end. I am fully convinced of its practicability, but I cannot overcome the initial difficulties.

A million *gulden* is all that is necessary to put the movement on its feet in a big way. This ridiculous—for so great a matter—sum can't be gotten, and so we shall have to go to sleep, though the day is here.

(An illustration of the incidents which feed his despair: he meets Güdemann again (one of his hopes in the beginning) and the latter reproaches him for having dropped him. Herzl pays him a visit.)

January 6, 1897.

I was at Güdemann's last night. The same old palaver. He still pretends to be offended. But when,

in the course of my arguments, I roused his enthusiasm, he said: "You have me completely on your side!"

"Good," I said. "Then speak in your Temple about it!"

"Excuse me," he cried out, terrified. "That won't do. I have looked around, and the people just don't want to hear about it."

(Shortly afterwards Güdemann publishes a timid attack on Herzl's ideas. Herzl replies in Bloch's *Wochenschrift*, with all his strength. From that time on Güdemann is definitely in the opposition. Herzl continues his correspondence with the Grand Duke of Baden, tries to encourage his few workers, but does not get into the full swing of work again until the spring of this year. Then begins the idea of the great Congress (first city proposed, Munich) and Herzl is also compelled for the time being to drop his idea of a great daily, and content himself with the publication of the weekly *Die Welt*. Now he begins to run up against the organized opposition of the Choveve Zion. Colonel Goldsmid will not attend the Congress. Other Choveve Zionists refuse to participate. Herzl writes to Goldsmid.)

April 4, 1897.

"I HAVE waited long enough. This August it will be two years since I took active steps in the Jewish question. I wanted to do it without stirring up the masses; I wanted to do it from the top downward, through the men who have been prominent in Zionism hitherto. But I was not understood, and I received no help. I had to go forward alone. At the Congress in Munich I shall call on the masses to come forward and help themselves, since no one wants to help them."

(Opposition to the holding of the Congress in Munich is voiced by Jews in that city. Herzl is preparing to change the place to Zurich.)

May 23, 1897.

The movement begins in America.

Michael Singer, publisher of a new weekly, *Tolerance*, sends me reports of meetings in New York, etc.

A Rabbinical conference, with Dr. Gottheil at the head, has declared itself with us.

May 10th the *New York Sun* had an article on Zionism.

Yesterday, when I showed the clipping from *The Sun* to Benedikt, he said, benevolently: "You are making the whole world crazy. An absolute Pied Piper of Hamelin."

I answered: "I shall have my revenge on you when you will be compelled to get your reports of the Congress in Munich second-hand from the columns of the *Kölnische Zeitung*—after you have had the opportunity, for a year and a half, to be perfectly informed."

May 26, 1897.

I am working like a madman at the make-up of *Die Welt*.

Two subscribers have come forward so far. After several hundred propaganda leaflets have been distributed, I get only three answers by letter. My closer party associates believe it is a failure.

June 6, 1897.

Die Welt has appeared. I am now completely e[xhausted]. I will make a note of this date. In add[i]tion to the work for *Die Welt*, I also had to force m[y]self into the mood for the feuilleton for the *N[eue] Freie Presse*. And now the rumpus in the offices, wi[th] Benedikt, and the break, because of *Die Welt*.

(He has much trouble with his publishers because of *Die W[elt]* but it does not come to a break.)

June 10th, 7th Birthday of my Hans.

Herewith I close my fourth volume of my histo[ry] of the Jewish State.

I shall put these books away in a safe place.

The date is a division anyway, and the book is fu[ll]. I make the date the birthday of my good Ha[ns]; may he grow up happy and healthy, a strong m[an] and a continuer of my work.

VOLUME FIVE

(June 16th he receives the official protest of the community [of] Munich against the holding of the Zionist Congress in that ci[ty]. He decides to change for Zurich, and later makes it Basle. In [the] midst of the almost superhuman work which Herzl has to perf[orm] in connection with the Congress, there is the perpetual bicker[ing] with the publishers of the *Neue Freie Presse*. Benedikt urges [him] again and again to drop *Die Welt*.)

June 18, 1897.

TO-DAY another round in the duel with Be[ne]dikt. To-day he had a second—Schütz. I[n] the last few days I noticed that Schütz has be[en] treating me like a fallen favorite. To-day, as [I] came into Benedikt's room, I observed from the s[us]pended conversation that they had been talki[ng] about me.

After a few remarks on our work, Benedikt ope[ned] the fight. He said he had been talking with Schü[tz] about *Die Welt*, and the latter was of his opini[on]. Schütz corroborated this, although with much l[ess] energy, in my presence. Benedikt formulated [the] demand: either *Die Welt* had to be thrown over, [or] else I had to leave the *Neue Freie Presse*.

(Anti-Semitic attacks are made on the *N. F. P.* because of Her[zl's] Zionism, and Benedikt is extremely uncomfortable. Bene[dikt] alternately threatens and pleads.)

June 23, 1897

I listened calmly, did not answer.

He begged me: "Be a good fellow! *Soyez* [bon] *prince*. What do you get out of *Die Welt*? I am so[rry] for you. You could have the greatest career throu[gh] the *Neue Freie Presse*. But as it is you make thi[s] terribly embarrassing for us. You make us look l[ike] a Jew-paper."

June 24, 1897

Yesterday, as I went down on my bicycle to [the] *Neue Freie Presse*, I said to myself: This is proba[bly] the last time that I am going to the *Neue Freie Pr[esse]*, for which I have taken so much trouble during [so] many years.

And strangely, at this thought of leaving [the] much envied position which I hold, recognize[d as]

first literary position in Vienna, I felt a sort of ef—like that of the valedictorian at school.

thought further: that is how death must be. e pain—more psychic than physical—is only in agony. Death itself must be a sort of release to sufferer.

(The break does not come. Herzl asks instead for a holiday, ing which he will think things over. Benedikt agrees heartily.)

Vienna, August 14, 1897.

The business and philanthropic Zionists are begin-ng to show signs of friendliness again, now that ey see that they cannot stop the Congress.

Newlinsky will come to Basle in order to report the Congress to the Sultan. He says in his letter at he is officially requested to do so. I shall pretend at I believe him. Obviously he is coming only in der to see whether there is anything to the whole siness.

THE FIRST CONGRESS

August 23, 1897.

ONCE more on the train, this time on my way to Basle, to the first Zionist Congress. The work, ring these last few months, was terrific.

We shall see what the Congress will bring forth. as a consequence of it, the political powers take the matter, if for instance the German Kaiser ds for me, then I shall continue to work. If not, d if in addition the moneyed Jews still show them-ves indifferent to the cause which I have carried us far with so much effort and sacrifice, then I all withdraw.

If the Presidency of the Congress is offered me, I all accept it only for this occasion. Even if the ork continues I do not want to be President of the ongress again.

The truth—which I hide from every one—is that have only an army of *schnorrers*.

I stand at the head of a movement of boys, beggars d fools! Some of them are using me. Others are ready envious or faithless. The third kind fall ay from me as soon as a little career opens for them mewhere. Few are selfless enthusiasts. And yet en this little army will suffice if once success shows elf. It will soon become a regular, smart army.

Well, we shall see what the next few days bring rth.

August 24, 1897.

This morning, as I came down the steps of the roler Hof, who should come to meet me? Hechler! has been here since last night, and he has actually ld a lecture in the salon on me and my movement, ile I was out for my evening walk and was think-g of anything rather than this: that in the Tyroler of a clergyman was lecturing to the upper ten on onism!

One of the curiosities of this Congress will be the ming together of the various threads which I have been spinning till now. Hechler is here; Newlinsky will be here and *tutti quanti* who under my direction are helping to make this movement. It will be one of my tasks not to let them become too aware of each other, for they will lose some of their faith in me and in the ideal if they observe with what slender means I have constructed the movement up to this point. The whole thing is a marvel of equilibrium, which afterwards looks just as obvious as it looked improbable before.

One of my cares is Newlinsky: what he will say of my people, just as much as what my people will say of him. I must think up a method of keeping him out of the way.

(Here Herzl makes a partial list of the worries he has on his mind in connection with the Congress. He calls it a blindfold egg-dance:)

1. The egg of the *Neue Freie Presse*, which I must not compromise and which I must not supply with an excuse to throw me out.
2. Egg of the Orthodox Jews.
3. Egg of the modernist Jews.
4. Egg of Austrian patriotism.
5. Egg of Turkey and the Sultan.
6. Egg of the Russian government, against which nothing offensive must be said, even though the deplorable condition of the Russian Jews must be mentioned.
7. Egg of the Christian sects with regard to the Holy Places.
8. Egg of Edmond Rothschild.
9. Egg of the Choveve Zion in Russia.
10. Egg of the colonists, who need the aid of Rothschild, which must not be spoiled for them *tout en considérant leurs misères*.
11. Egg of envy and jealousy. I must direct the thing impersonally, yet I dare not let the reins out of my hands.

It is, without exaggeration, a labor of Hercules, for which I have no more inclination.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE FIRST CONGRESS

Vienna, September 3, 1897.

THE last few days, the most important since the birth of the idea that day in Paris, have rushed by. In Basle and on the return journey I was too exhausted to make any entries, though these are more important than ever now, for others, too, have begun to note that our movement has entered the pages of history.

If I were to subsume the Basle Congress in one word —which I shall not do openly—it would be this: at Basle I founded the Jewish State.

If I were to say this to-day, I would be met by universal laughter. In five years, perhaps, and certainly in fifty, every one will see it. The State is already founded, in essence, in the will of the people to the State; yes, even in the will of one individual, if he is powerful enough (the *l'État c'est moi* of Louis

XIV). The territory is only the concrete manifestation; and even where it possesses a territory, the State is always something abstract. The Church State, too, exists without a territory, or else the Pope would not be sovereign.

In Basle I created this thing which is abstract and which is therefore invisible to the great majority of people. Actually with infinitesimal means. I gradually infused into people the mood of the State and inspired them with the feeling that they were the National Assembly.

Months ago I already decided that one of my methods would be to demand that delegates come to the opening in frock-coats and white cravats. The results were splendid. Festive dress makes most people stiff. Out of this stiffness came a moderation which they would perhaps not have exercised in light summer or travel clothes, and I spared nothing to heighten the mood of solemnity.

The first day Nordau turned up in redingote, and would under no circumstances go home to put his frock-coat on. I drew him to one side and begged him to do it for my sake. I said to him: to-day the Præsidium of the Zionist Congress is still nothing—we have to establish everything. The people must accustom themselves to look to this Congress for everything that is high and dignified. Nordau changed his mind, and I embraced him in my gratitude. In a quarter of an hour he returned in frock-coat.

Everything rests on my shoulders; and I am not talking myself into this belief, for on the third day I had the proof of it. I was exhausted and handed over the chair to Nordau. There immediately ensued a fearful confusion, and I was told later that the session was ghastly.

And before I took the chair, too, the thing was all awry.

The good Dr. Lippe, of Jassy, was in the chair as honorary president. It had been arranged that he should speak for only ten minutes. In the preceding confusion he had not submitted his speech to me, and once he stood up there he kept on speaking, without let-up, for half an hour, and made blunder after blunder. I sat below, on the tribune, next to Nordau, and sent four messages up to Lippe, and finally I had to threaten him before he would stop. The whole thing had already taken a comical turn.

I gave Nordau the floor. He spoke magnificently. His speech was and remains a memorial of our times. When he returned to the presidential table I went toward him and said: "*Monumentum ære perennius.*"

Then the reports were read as per schedule. And now I learned why I had to watch the proceedings of the French Parliament for four years. I was penetrated down to my subconscious with the idea of elegance of procedure.

And the Congress was splendid. Once, while Nordau was in the chair, I went to the back of the hall. The long green table on the platform, the raised seats of the President, the green-draped tribun the stenographers' and journalists' table made s powerful an impression on me that I went out quickly in order not to be overcome.

(Back in Vienna, Herzl begins to weave a new diplomatic cours he is concentrating now on Germany, with Turkey in the bac ground. Everything he does now is to lead up to his intervie with the Kaiser. One of the first things he sets down, howeve is that his first faith in Newlinsky has been overshadowed.)

NEWLINSKY has shown himself to be a *Lum* toward me.

Yesterday, when I went to see him in order t talk with him about the results of the Basle Congre and the steps to be taken with regard to Turkey, h told me that he had spoken with Edmond Rothschi in Paris.

I was dismayed, for he can have gone to Rothschi only as a traitor. He probably used my letters, which I have spoken of the uses to which I inter to put the Congress, as introduction to Rothschild.

He was very reticent, and would not say who we the persons who had brought him in contact wi Rothschild. I suspect that the other blackgua was Sch—.

Fortunately I was able to control myself. He to me that Rothschild had expressed the opinion th my *Judenstaat* had done much harm. Rothschild w opposed to me.

From now on I shall be guarded in my relations this rascal, but I must not break with him, for he c harm me greatly in Constantinople—much more than he was ever able to help me. I could not perm him to see what I thought of his miserable tric I even told him, at the end of our talk—as if I believ in his honesty—that now, when he saw me ope at the head of the movement, he should be convin that he had done well to attach himself to me.

(Herzl is engaged deeply, about this time, with the problem of Vatican. While he makes approaches to the Kaiser, he is aw that the emergence of the movement into the open has startled Holy See. He also maintains his contact with Frederick, Gr Duke of Baden, and begins to negotiate for interviews w Bülow, the German Chancellor, Prince Eulenburg and others. also prepares to approach the Pope through Archbishop von Seb Papal Nuncio at Vienna. For the time being, however, he c centrates on Germany, while still keeping up his efforts w Turkey.)

Vienna, September 23, 1897

Newlinsky is my *directeur du protocole*. He infor me of the hundred nothings of diplomatic etiquett e.g., the letter to the Sultan must be provided w five seals, but must have no superscription.

As far as N. Bey is concerned, there must be mo around—some twenty thousand *francs* as a start- And our movement consists of beggars, even tho the big money bags of the ICA, etc., are in the b ground. No one will ever understand or honor t astounding ingenuities which I have to show.

But to-day I shall warm up the Committee, a get it to help along.

(Herzl finds difficulty in working with the "Committee"—th Actions Committee elected by the Congress.)

September 24, 1897.

I asked the gentlemen of the Committee to raise me money for our work. Until now I have simply pplied the funds which were needed out of my own cket. If the Committee wants to share in the rection of things, it must go through this test—ovide five thousand *gulden* for the treasury.

Kokesch declares this to be plainly impossible: *od erat demonstrandum*. He is a very fine fellow; but here would the movement be if we depended on m?

(There follow large gaps in the *Diaries*. About ten pages cover e period between September and December, 1897. Herzl is active, t has little to write. Also, though he is working, he feels exusted. The following random passages speak for themselves.)

October 27, 1897.

I am as tired as an old man.

November 29, 1897.

(In a letter to Nordau:)

"Between you and me, I am worn out by these ruggles and miseries."

March 12, 1898.

I am tired. My heart is not in good shape.

(But during this period he is also at work on the question of the nk. He considers this the absolute essential, now that the movent has been launched.)

October 6, 1897.

I now attack the question of the Jewish Company. The Basle Congress represents the creation of the ciety of Jews for the Jewish State, even if with pportunistic modifications and weakly executed. ne work of the next few years will be the creation of the Jewish Company, temporarily called the Jewish Colonial Bank.

(But on top of his disappointments and worries he still has the difficulty of the attitude of his employers, the *Neue Freie Presse*. He makes spasmodic efforts to raise the funds for a paper of his own, but without success. The strained atmosphere in the editorial offices of his paper, the absolute ban on the word Zionism pronounced by the *Neue Freie Presse*, and his constant fear of an open break, contribute to his task.)

October 27, 1897.

DR. MANDELSTAMM of Kiev is trying to persuade a couple of millionaires of his city to provide the money for the founding of a newspaper company. A million is needed. My father and I will contribute one hundred thousand if the Russians will get the other nine hundred thousand.

On Mandelstamm's advice I am sending a confidential agent (Steiner) to Kiev.

Steiner was bargaining: he wanted to have equal power with me in the paper. This I refused categorically. If anything comes of it, he will be chief administrator.

But I am so tired that I no longer care whether the newspaper is created or not. I have been too prodigal of my reserves of energy.

If the Russians supply money enough, we could perhaps even force the *Neue Freie Presse* to capitulate. With three million I could buy it out, and that would certainly be the best thing. With the *Neue Freie Presse* in our hand we could work wonders. *Vederemo*.

November 29, 1897.

Nordau writes he is making efforts to be received by the German Kaiser for Zionist objects. If he suc-



HERZL AND THE GREATER ACTIONS COMMITTEE
On Herzl's left are Wolffsohn and Leopold Kahn



JOSEPH NAVON BEY
"There Must Be Money Around"

ceeds, he will be the foremost person in the movement which I have created. But I find this the right thing. The work must grow beyond me. I write him my consent and ask him to go also to Pobiodonestzeff and the Czar. I am also writing him that I wish to make him Governor of the Jewish Bank. Jealousy is stupid, and I am not "on the make." My present dream is: to write a drama in verse (costumes of the time of the Renaissance).

(Wolffsohn, Kann and others are at work on the Bank, while Herzl continues his negotiations leading, ultimately, to the interview with the Kaiser. During this period he frequently reverts to literary dreams—the sign of his exhaustion. The Zionist movement has been launched, but it is penniless.)

March 26, 1898.

I am still fighting with a wooden sword, like a clown, or like a child.

I need a sword of steel—i.e., a great newspaper, with which one can make politics, render services to people, make connections, etc.

So I struggle helplessly and cannot move forward. It is horrible to have such clear plans, to see the road so plainly, and to be condemned to impotence. I need a miserable million in order to direct a great newspaper, and for this service to the Jewish people I cannot get the help. For two years the thing has been so . . .

Fructus percipiendi! The lost opportunities o[f] Zionism.

(His own money is being eaten up by *Die Welt*, which has less tha[n] three thousand circulation.)

May 5, 1898.

Die Welt keeps eating up money, and I must mak[e] it self-supporting, or it will go under. I can keep i[t] going for perhaps another year without ruinin[g] myself.

Die Welt gets no help from the party; yes, there i[s] even talk of a Yiddish paper to be subventioned b[y] the Committee, which would to some extent compet[e] with *Die Welt*.

(The dreams of the Bank dwindle. At first Herzl thinks of a mini[-] mum of sixty million *francs* (over two million pounds). Then h[e] notes that with eight hundred thousand pounds he would be satis[-] fied. But the efforts of Wolffsohn and Kann to interest wealth[y] Jews seem to be hopeless. Herzl has to fall back on the idea o[f] launching the Bank through the Congress, against his wishes.)

August 9, 1898.

Wolffsohn reports that only one hundred thousan[d] pounds have been raised for the Bank.

Everything depends on whether a decent increas[e] can be made on this sum in the few weeks before th[e] Congress.

If not, then the Congress *Stimmung* must on thi[s] occasion be exploited for the Bank. A tremendousl[y] difficult task. The rich fellows want to freeze u[s] out. *La revanche sera terrible.*

I shall perhaps declare a boycott at this Congress.

(Herzl receives a visit from the "S." who was the first to read hi[s] *Judenstaat* in manuscript and to declare him mad.)

August 11, 1898.

Friedrich S. was here, from Paris. I reminded hi[m] of the opinion he expressed three years ago when [I] read him the manuscript of the *Judenstaat* in th[e] Hotel Castille, Rue Cambon. He was ashamed, paine[d] and said: "I have been converted. You really we[re] right."

It was the Dreyfus affair which converted him.

And like this man, who considered me a lunati[c] so the others, who still consider me one, will als[o] come.

But how would it have been if I had let myse[lf] be dissuaded by this man? The world would ha[ve] been poorer by an idea, and the Jewish people by [a] great movement.

How big is the responsibility which these peop[le] bear who tried to prevent me from going ahead, an[d] how light is the punishment which they must suffe[r].

He is uncomfortable for a moment, and says: "Yo[u] are right!"

(The Second Congress passes by with little notice in the *Diari[es]*. Herzl feels he is not doing justice to the movement in his entrie[s]. The following, revealing the agonizing situation in which [he] finds himself, is the most interesting of the few notes on th[e] Second Congress.)

In the afternoon there was the financial repor[t]. And then the stupidities began. Gaster preside[d]

ith a heavy hand. To my utter despair Oskar [armorek praised the Actions Committee because had achieved so much with such small means! nd there in the gallery sat Newlinsky, whom I ad invited with wife and child in order that he ight report to the Sultan how powerful our move-ent had become! Then Bernstein-Kohan took the oor and praised us because we had been able to do is without any money. I sent word to him to shut p at once, or I would leave the Congress. He con-nued to talk stupidly, and spoke again and again our poverty—until I broke up the session to let e finance committee meet.

And these are the instruments with which I must ork. They break in my hand, as the wooden paper-utter broke during the stormy session.

(In September of this year Herzl sees Bülow, Hohenlohe, ilenburg and the Grand Duke of Baden. The idea has already come him of a temporary territory—with Palestine as the ultimate al. So he writes, in July:)

I am thinking of giving the movement a nearer rritorial goal, with Zion as the final objective.

The poor masses need immediate help, and Turkey not so far lost that she will accede to our wishes.

Perhaps we can get Cyprus from England—and ven bear South Africa and America in mind—until e dissolution of Turkey.

The Hague, September 30, 1898.

Traveled again through the odorous landscape of olland. But not as I did the first time. Then, in 385, I was a young dreamer, void of content, seeing nly the form of things.

To-day the land says something else to me.

I see a city rise suddenly out of the plain, without hill, river or sea—without any encouragement, so to say. That is the Hague.

A proof that the will makes the city.

If I point with my finger to a certain place and say: Let a city rise here—then a city rises.

The whole of Holland is proof of what man can create on the most thankless soil.

When a young man is in love he sees his beloved under every bonnet.

So everything that I see reminds me of my idea.

(October 1st Herzl receives a letter from Prince Eulenburg advising him that the German Kaiser expects to receive him in Palestine—and that the Kaiser will be disappointed unless he is there! The letter moves Herzl profoundly. But he has to worry lest the new leave of absence which he must take from the *Neue Freie Presse* will cost him his position!)

I read the letter in the railway carriage, and at first I was dazed. I was uncomfortably affected by the bigness of what had been achieved. I saw at once the difficulties in which this would engage me with the *Neue Freie Presse*. If, at the end of my leave, I go to Palestine instead of returning to the office, it may simply cost me my position. On the other hand, I cannot ignore the wish of the Kaiser, which amounts to a command. There can be no hesitation here. I cannot help myself. I must risk my position.

(The last part of Volume Five is devoted to the work in London round the founding of the Bank. Herzl notes that he will have to open the Bank with two hundred thousand shares—about one tenth of the number he had first thought of.)



THE DELEGATE'S CARD TO THE SECOND ZIONIST CONGRESS WAS TYPICAL OF THE FINESSE WITH WHICH HERZL INSISTED ZIONIST BUSINESS SHOULD BE CONDUCTED



EX-KAISER WILHELM

VOLUME SIX

(The first pages of Volume Six are still occupied with the Bank, but the center of attention moves quickly to the negotiations with the intermediaries of the Kaiser. In Berlin Herzl definitely receives instructions that the Kaiser will receive him. The first interview is to take place in Constantinople. Subsequent audiences are granted him in Palestine.)

October 8, 1898.

THE protectorate! Many will shake their heads over it. But I believe that the only right thing would be to accept it, once it is offered. If I have no such dreams, then no one among us has dreams of monarchy.

To be a protectorate of this powerful, great, moral and exactly organized country, Germany, can have only the most beneficial effect on the national character of the Jews.

(Herzl manages to adjust his difficulties with the *Neue Freie Presse*, and prepares to leave for Constantinople.)

October 14, 1898.

The parting from my dear ones was very painful this time. I could remain peacefully in my beautiful home, with my lovely children, whose rosy childhood years are passing without my being able to enjoy them. They are growing up and I am not the[re] to observe in detail the charm of their developmen[t]. I am undertaking this distant journey—a journ[ey] perhaps not without danger. I have even be[en] warned that there are some in Palestine who a[re] thinking of taking my life. The warning came fro[m] Ben Yehuda through Dr. Werner.

But it is my duty to go.

I was greatly shaken at the departure by the wee[p]ing of my good parents. They would be the on[ly] ones who could never be consoled if I were not [to] return. For these poor old people the fact that I a[m] becoming a figure in world history would be [n]o consolation.

Both of them blessed me as I went. God keep the[m] well, and prepare a happy reunion for us.

(The deputation leaves for Constantinople on the Orient Expr[ess] October 12, 1898.)

I discussed with Bodenheimer the conditions [w]e would submit.

Territory: from Egypt to the Euphrates. A peri[od] of transition with our own arrangements. A Jewi[sh] governor during the transition. Then the same re[la]tionship as between Egypt and the Sultan. As so[on] as, in any territory, the Jewish population is tw[o]-thirds of the total, a Jewish administration, wh[ile] the local administration (communal autonom[y]) should be elected by the votes of the community.

(On October 18, 1898, Herzl is received by the German Kais[er] in Constantinople. The complete record of the audience is set do[wn] the next day, on board the *Imperator Nicholas II*, on the Sea [of] Marmora.)

October 19, 1898.

THE Kaiser, in the dark uniform of a Hussar, ca[me] toward me. I stood still and made a deep bo[w]. He came up to me, almost to the door, and offered [me] his hand. I believe he said that he was glad to s[ee] me, or something like that.

I said: "Your Imperial Majesty, I am happy [to] be the recipient of this distinction."

Then he went back round the table, pushed [an] armchair toward me, waved his hand in a gestu[re] of invitation and sat down with his back to t[he] table; he crossed his legs, which were encased [in] Hussar's boots, like one who is settling comfortab[ly] for a long talk. Von Bülow had entered behind m[e] and sat down at the same time as I. Like myself [he] held his top hat all the time on his knees. I h[ad] forgotten to remove the glove of my right han[d] according to the rules of etiquette.

While I had been waiting, I had been somewh[at] disturbed by the thought that my redingote was n[ot] the right thing: I should perhaps have come in froc[k]-coat; but von Bülow's redingote reassured me.

On my entry the Kaiser had given me a power[ful] look from his sea-blue eyes. He really has regal ey[es]. I have never seen the like. A marvelous, keen a[nd] searching soul lies in them. The impression whi[ch] he produces—especially the first impression—is ob-

sly not a matter of indifference to him. He is st as tall as I, and my first impression was that he is stressed because he has a short arm, and that he inks to himself: "You, who come from the outle world, the world which sees me only in pictures, storming by in the magnificence of court parades, you not disappointed to see before you a Kaiser no has one arm shorter than all other people's?"

I therefore looked steadily into his fine, free, kindly d yet sharp eyes, which actually bewitched me.

I had expected that he would begin volubly and erefore I was somewhat out of breath when he de me speak.

"Where shall I begin, your Imperial Majesty?"

"Where you will," he said somewhat ironically d leaned back.

I repeated the contents of my letter of the day before: voice shook somewhat, and my heart beat viotly against my ribs. And I was angry that Bülow, no is not favorably disposed toward me, should see embarrassment and certainly be delighted by it. t for all that I said nothing foolish. My fear was ly in my voice. But when I came to the question the Land Company and the German Protectorate nodded rapidly and contentedly, as his habit is, re with his eyes than with his head. It is a highly aracteristic movement. He looks sharply and werfully at you—the Kaiser!—and when he is ased by an observation or a phrase, his lips are ssed together and his splendid eyes say: "I undernd you—you are my man—first class."

There are innumerable pictures of him, but this l of his—a quite peculiar, powerful flash of the s—cannot be drawn, and people do not know what eyes are like.

He soon took over the lead and explained why he nsidered the Zionist movement of worth. Unforuately I was an embarrassed listener, and I had to rt all my strength in preparing the replies, so that have not been able to retain all the details. He er mentioned the Jews except as my "*Landsleute*" and not in an exactly friendly tone. He had no ubt that we had sufficient money and man-power our disposal to carry out the colonization of Palese. Here my attention failed a little, for I was serving my own impression that my three years of ork have made of the word "Zionism" a *terme u*, which the Kaiser used freely in speaking with me.

"There are," he said, "among your *Landsleute* tain elements which it would be well to have migrate into Palestine. I am thinking, for instance, those cases where there are a number of usurers nong the country people. If these were to take their alth and settle in the colonies, they would make emselves more useful." Those were his words, ore or less.

I was angered that he should identify the Jews th a few usurers, and in my indignation I suddenly und myself cool and controlled again, and I made a ort speech against anti-Semitism, which had stabbed us to the heart. We had been deeply pained. . . .

The Kaiser observed that he believed the Jews would set about the colonization of Palestine if they knew that he would keep them under his protection, and that they really would not be leaving Germany.

Bülow supplemented with: "And they will, we hope, be grateful for it." But he drew my attention to the fact that the rich Jews did not agree with my idea. "The big papers, too, are not for it, and your own amongst them. You ought to think of getting one or the other of the big papers on your side."

I said: "Your Excellency, that is purely a matter of money. As a writer I regret to have to say it."

Bülow's intentions were quite clear. He wanted to let the Kaiser understand that I had no power behind me. Bülow said whatever he could in opposition to me, without using the word "No," which he dared not do, for the *voluntas regis* was obviously "Yes." He kept saying: "Yes, yes—Yes, but—Yes, if only—" Nothing but masked negatives.

I felt my arguments growing stronger and stronger under the encouragement of the Kaiser's approval.

I soon touched on the subject of the opportune moment that lay before Germany, what with France's inner weakness.

(The conversation turns for a time on French politics, then on the Dreyfus affair. Herzl brings the subject back to Zionism.)

The conversation lagged for a moment after the French chapter. I made use of the pause to come back to the subject.

"And for that reason France cannot raise any objections to our aim." For Russia, too, it would be a solution, etc.—all the usual arguments.

The Kaiser then said with a touch of humor which had more joviality than heartlessness in it: "Yes, your *Landsleute* haven't had such a good time of it in Russia these last couple of hundred years."

I went on, and while he nodded approval unfolded the whole subject before him. I think I laid down all



HERZL AND HIS CHILDREN
"The Parting from My Dear Ones Was Painful"



HERZL AND WOLFFSOHN ON A TENDER IN CONSTANTINOPLE

the arguments: Russia's Siberian line, which might prove for Europe a Pandora's box of immeasurable evils. Everything, everything. He listened splendidly, at times; and when I touched on the complicated forms of the loan we could make for Turkey, with evident effort and tension. I said, finally: "I don't know whether it is because I am so gripped by the subject—but the whole thing appears quite natural to me."

He looked at me powerfully: "To me, too."

Bülow objected: "Yes, if you want to do the thing here, you must perhaps get at the Ministers—" and he rubbed thumb and forefinger together as if counting money; "everybody takes here."

The Kaiser dismissed that with a light wave of the hand and said: "But it will make an impression when the German Kaiser is occupied with the subject, expresses interest in it."

Here I had the feeling of one who wanders in a fairy forest and meets the fabulous unicorn, which says to him in a human voice: "I am the fabulous unicorn."

The Kaiser said further: "After all, I am the only one who stands by the Sultan. I mean something to him."

He looked again at his watch and rose. But he saw that I still wanted to say something. "Have you another question?"

I raised the detail of the audience in Palestine, the memorandum I was to submit to him, etc.

The Kaiser said: "Write it out and give it to Bülow. I shall work it over with him. Tell me in one word what I am to ask of the Sultan, for you."

"A chartered company, under German protection."

"Good: a chartered company." He gave me his hand, which is strong enough for two, and pressed mine powerfully.

When the Kaiser had left the sal I went out with Bülow. Bülo looked down the corridor after tl Kaiser and said to me: "A magni cent monarch."

The courtiers, the officers and tl lackeys, too, were astounded wh they saw the unknown Jew, who they had regarded with contempt few minutes before, coming dov the steps in eager, whispered co versation with the Minister after secret audience of an hour's durati with the Kaiser.

Then I went. The colorful gro of Turkish officers looked after r with not very friendly eyes. Yes, my swift glance, as I went out, d not deceive me, I saw nothing b hate—or was it envy? Did th already know, had they guesse what I had sought from the Kaise Or were their court-souls depress by the extraordinary distinction which had be accorded me?

I STEPPED into my carriage, in which Wolffso was waiting for me in a state of great excitemen I told the splendid fellow briefly that the audier had been a good one, and that we should be receiv in Palestine.

In the Hotel de Londres Schnirer, Seidener a Bodenheimer were waiting. As Danusso was a there, I took them into a separate room and ga them a summary report. I was completely exhaust by the great psychic strain, but I still had to prep the written memorial. I drank some tea, but co not recover my strength enough to begin work the document.

I kept on trying until eleven o'clock, while Wo sohn packed my bags for me. Then I tried to ma myself sleepy by drinking a bottle of Bavarian be and I managed to sleep until four in the morni Then I got up, lit all the twelve candles in my roo wrote for half an hour, and then lay down aga exhausted. At six I was up, and did as much of t memorial as I could until half past nine: then I sen with a covering letter through the German post Bülow.

In between Wolffsohn had made all the arran ments for our journey. I needed only to go down the harbor and get on board.

Wonderful sunshine on the harbor of Constar nople. I felt a certain calmness come over me a walked on the deck of this Russian ship. At t moment I still do not know how the Turks will t this entire business, which has now become serio Before we got to Smyrna I still considered it possi that the Turkish officials, having been advised of arrival, would give their more or less friendly att

n to it. Even to-day, October 21st, on the Ægean , I am still uncertain of what awaits us. Yester-y, in Smyrna, I got the local papers, to find out ether the telegraphic agencies had reported on audience. I found nothing.

believe, without having any delusions of grandeur, t my audience cannot long remain a secret—that diplomatic world is already in a turmoil about it. n any case, I already represent for certain interested ple in the Holy Land an uncomfortable personality, d I am not sure that an attack against me is not ng prepared in Palestine. From which side? I nnot make even a remote guess.

do not disclose any of these worries to my fellow velers. I am coming openly to the climax of my amatic undertaking. If this expedition to Pales-e succeeds, the most difficult part has been achieved. hat remains after that is merely the execution, ich can be carried out by others, too.

These are crucial days of the first order through ich I am now passing.

HERZL'S FIRST CONTACT WITH PALESTINE

October 27, 1898. Written in Rishon le Zion.

HE last two nights which we spent on the little ship *Russia*—coming here from Alexandria—were tolerably hot; the five of us were in one cabin. three in the morning I was already out on deck. e last night I slept simply *à la belle étoile*. Night d day the sea was marvelously calm, shimmering th manifold colors. As the light began to dawn, looked toward the Jewish coast. Toward seven clock the first signs, two heights to the right, ere pointed out by Wolffsohn. It was with min-ed feelings that we drew near to the land of our thers. Strange, what feelings this waste land vakens in most people: in the old German pastor om South Africa; in the Russian *mouzhik* in the evil-elling third class; in the Arabs who accompanied from Constantinople; in us Zionists; in the poor manian Jewish woman who is going to her sick ughter in Jerusalem, and is afraid that with her umanian passport she may be turned back. Our iend Seidener, with his Russian passport, is in the me boat.

The landing began uncomfortably when we came fore Jaffa. I had already taken steps in case the urkish harbor officials should make it difficult for to land. I had prepared a telegram to the Kaiser which the difficulties which were being put in our ay were indicated. But it fell out otherwise. hen we were in the big Cook boat, in which I had so had the Rumanian Jewess put, I learned that erman police were on the dock. I sprang on to the nd, and while the Turkish police were mousing ound in our baggage, I took the German official one side and told him we were here on the com-and of the Kaiser: and the five men with the sun-helmets were to be let through at once. That is what took place.

I turned the Rumanian woman over to Mme. Gaulis, the wife of a French journalist, who sat in the next boat. She was to pass as the servant of Madame Gaulis. Madame Gaulis fell in with the idea, and the poor woman, clinging to the skirt of the French lady, slipped by with her through the cordon—and how happy she was to be in Palestine, to be able to visit her mortally sick daughter. What various kinds of happiness there are!

And we were in Jaffa.

Again poverty and desolation and heat, in brilliant colors.

We straggled through the streets to the hotel, as no carriage was obtainable. I was already on horse-back, setting out for Rishon, when Dr. Joffe managed to get a carriage for me.

We went first—in a fearful heat—to Mikveh Israel. It is a splendid agricultural school. Flags and orna-ments decorated the gate in honor of the Kaiser, who will be passing this way to-morrow, on the road to Jerusalem. I shall try to persuade him to visit this institute.

From Mikveh, through the landscape made desolate by Arab neglect, toward the much-praised Rishon le Zion. For a poor village it is not so badly off. But any one who expects more than a poor settlement is doomed to disappointment. Deep dust on the ways, a little green.

The administrator received us with the uncer-tainty of a coward, afraid to be either friendly or



HERZL AND THE DELEGATION TO THE KAISER IN PALESTINE

hostile. The fear of the Baron in Paris broods over everything.

The poor colonists have exchanged one terror for another. They showed us the wine-cellars, ceremoniously. But I have never doubted that money can build industrial establishments anywhere.

(On October 28, 1898, the famous scene takes place outside Mikveh Israel—the reception of Herzl by the German Kaiser, in sight of the colonists. The description follows.)

October 29, 1898, Jerusalem.

WE RODE forth, the day before yesterday, from Rishon le Zion. At a distance of half an hour is the Jewish village of Vaad el Chanin. There the entire population turned out to meet us; children singing; an old man greeted us with bread and salt and wine from his own soil. I had to visit almost every house in the colony.

We rode. A cavalcade came storming out to meet us from Rehoboth, some twenty young fellows who staged a sort of *fantasia*, sang Hebrew songs, and swarmed around our carriage. Wolffsohn, Schnirer, Bodenheimer and I had tears in our eyes, as we saw these swift, manly riders into whom our pants-selling boys can be transformed. I was reminded of the Far West riders of the Ame rican plains, whom I once saw in Paris.



HERZL MEETS THE KAISER

At nine o'clock a movement on the road, which was covered with a mixed multitude of Arab beggars, women, children and horsemen, indicated the approach of the Imperial party. Grim-looking Turkish horsemen came riding first, with reins loose, with threatening weapons and still more threatening looks. Then the outriders. And then last a gray group, with some ladies, and with the Kaiser himself.

I gave the sign to the school choir of Mikveh to sing the *Heil Dir im Siegerkranz*. I took my place by the side of one of the ploughs, and took off my sun helmet. The Kaiser recognized me from a distance. He started slightly, reined in his horse toward me—and stopped opposite me. I stepped forward two paces; and as he bent over his horse's neck and stretched out his hand to me, I came quite close to him and stretched out mine, and remained standing with bared head.

He laughed, and flashed with his kingly eyes:

"How are you?"

"I thank Your Majesty. I am seeing the country. How has Your Majesty's journey been so far?"

His eyes flashed.

"Very hot. But the land has a future."

"At present it is still sick," I said.

"It needs water, much water," he said, speaking downward at me.

"Yes, Your Majesty. Colonization on a grand scale."

He repeated: "It is a land of the future."

Perhaps he said something more which I have now forgotten, for the interview lasted several minutes. Then he stretched his hand out to me again and galloped off. The Kaiserin had also ridden forward a little, and nodded to me, smiling. Then, while the childish voices sang the *Heil Dir im Siegerkranz*, the Imperial suite moved forward.

Among the horsemen I recognized the Court Marshal, Eulenberg, who greeted me in all friendliness.

The spectators of Mikveh Israel were utterly dazed. A few of them asked who that had been. The Rothschild administrators looked timid and irritated.

Wolffsohn, the fine fellow, had taken two snapshots. At least, so he thought. He tapped his kodak proudly. "I wouldn't give up this film for ten thousand *marks*."

But when we got to the photographer in Jaffa and had the plates developed, we saw that one of the snapshots showed the shadow of the Kaiser and my left foot, while the other was completely spoiled.

(Now follow some days of keen anxiety. The last audience is to take place in Jerusalem, and there Herzl hopes to get a definite answer from the Kaiser—whether or not he will accept the plan.)

October 31, 1898.

IN spite of the generally depressed mood of my friends, I gave them a little lesson for the audience. I told them in what order to step forth, how to behave themselves, etc. I also thought up the answers to all the questions which the Kaiser might possibly ask. They were to bear in mind that though he was a powerful personage he was still—only a man. They were to be respectful—but they were also to remember that they were representing the illustrious Jewish people in a historic moment.

I asked them further whether their clothes, linen, ties, gloves, shoes, hats, etc., were in proper condition.

And I wait.

November 2, 1898.

Eight minutes past one.

We are back from the audience.

This short reception will be remembered forever in Jewish history, and it is not impossible that it will have historic consequences.

But how bald the details of the whole procedure a

At half past twelve we were through with our asty midday meal. I am keeping my gentlemen on a rict diet, so that they will be in proper form.

At twelve o'clock we were all dressed. Boden-eimer had a grotesque silk hat on and his cuffs ere too wide, so that his undersleeves slipped out. t the last moment we had to get other cuffs for him.

I put on my shabby Medjidje order—for the first me.

I permitted no one to take bromide—as Marcou aruch said in Basle: *Je ne le voulais pas pour l'histoire. Et j'avais raison.*

We drove in the blazing noon-day sun and the hite dust to the tents. A couple of Jews in the reets looked up as we drove by. Geese in the vamp staring up at the wild geese flying above.

At the entrance to the tent the Turkish guard esitated before it let us pass. Then a sergeant came nd had us admitted.

Then they called us into the Kaiser's tent. The aiser stood there in blue colonial uniform, his sun elmet on his head and—astonishingly enough—his ding-whip in his right hand. A couple of steps efore the entrance I stopped and bowed. At my ntrance the Kaiser stretched out his hand to me in iendly greeting. Somewhat at the side stood ülow in dusty gray sack suit, holding my corrected ıtline in his hand.

The four men entered the broad tent, after me. I ked whether I might introduce the gentlemen and ıe Kaiser nodded. As every name was called off, e raised his hand to the tip of his helmet.

Then, after exchanging a glance with Bülow, I ok the paper in my hand and read forth, at first in somewhat shaky voice, but soon entirely at my ıse. From time to time I glanced up from the paper nd looked into his eyes, which he kept steadily n me.

When I had finished he spoke.

He said the following, more or less.

"I thank you for your communications, which ave interested me greatly. The matter must in ıy case be studied more closely and discussed at reater length." Thereupon he entered on some bservations concerning the colonies which had een founded till then. "The land must have water nd shade above everything else." He made use of a umber of technical agricultural and forestry terms. e had learned, he said, that the soil was cultivable. "The settlements which I have seen, the German s well as those of your *Landsleute*, may serve as a ıodel of what can be done in this country. The land as room for all. Only provide water and shade. or the native population, too, the colonies can serve s models to be imitated. Your movement, with hich I am well acquainted, contains a healthy idea."

He assured us again of his permanent interest, and hat he added during the remaining five or six inutes of his reply I cannot remember.

As soon as his official reply was over, he stretched



Dressed to Visit the German Emperor in Jerusalem

out his hand to me, but did not let us go yet. He drew us into conversation together with Bülow. "You know Herr von Bülow, don't you?"

Whether I knew him! Bülow, who had followed with his finger the copy of the document which I had read forth, smiled sweetly. We spoke about the journey.

The Kaiser said: "We happen to have struck the hottest weather. At Ramleh the temperature was thirty-one in the shade and forty-one in the sun."

Bülow said sweetly: "As Your Majesty was gracious enough to say, the weather is the most important thing. Herr Herzl knows better than I what the Greek poet says: "Αριστον μὲν ὕδωρ."

"That we can bring into the country. It will cost billions but it will bring billions in return."

"Well, you certainly don't lack the money," exclaimed the Kaiser jovially, and slapped his whip against his boots. "You have more money than all the rest of us."

Bülow *abondait dans ce sens.* "Yes, yes. Money, which makes so much difficulty for us, you have abundantly."

At this point I remarked how the water power of the Jordan could be used, and drew Seidener, as an engineer, into the conversation. Seidener spoke about dams, etc. The Kaiser entered readily on this subject, and carried the idea further. Then he mentioned the health question, eye diseases, etc., which spread particularly during the fig harvest season. Then I drew Schnirer into the conversation, and he spoke briefly on this subject.

I could not bring Wolffsohn or Bodenheimer into the conversation, for the Kaiser closed the audience by extending his hand to me again.

I went out first, but I glanced backward again from

the side. I saw the Kaiser in profile, turned toward Bülow.

Graf von Kessel asked us, as we went: "Is the audience over already?" He was less friendly than in Constantinople, from which I concluded that our shares did not stand so high now.

As we went I said to Schnirer: "*Il n'a dit ni oui ni non.* He has said neither yes nor no."

(On his return to Europe Herzl finds that his audiences with the Kaiser have had a very "poor press." He quotes the report of the telegraphic agencies in one of the papers:)

"November 2nd. Kaiser Wilhelm received a Jewish deputation, which presented him with an album of the Jewish colonies which have been founded in Palestine. To the statement of the leader of the deputation, Kaiser Wilhelm replied that all efforts of this kind could count on his friendly interest."

(Herzl does not know to whom to attribute the poverty of the report, but he is certain that enemies have been at pains to minimize his work.)

My fellow travelers were depressed, Bodenheimer more than any one else. But even the faithful Wolffsohn was shaken.

I raised their morale again. I shall take care that another version of the interviews, more favorable to us, shall become public.

I said further to them: "You see, that is why I am leader. I have to reestablish my standing over and over again. I am neither cleverer nor better than any of you. But I cannot be made to yield, and that is why the leadership belongs to me. In darker moments than this, I have not lost my courage: nay, I have even been spurred on to greater sacrifice."

(The other end of the negotiations—with Rome—are taken up now.)

November 15, 1898.

The intended journey to Rome must also be given up for the moment. In Naples I got news from Newlinsky: he writes he is sick and cannot make the journey.

I believe this is only an excuse.

November 18, 1898. Vienna.

HOME once again.

I was received in the narrow circle of the Actions Committee with a stormy ovation. But they had not done very much during my absence. Colonel von Eys told me that when they saw the report of the telegraphic agency they had been bowled over.

They wanted to arrange a monster mass meeting in my honor in the Sofien Halle. This idea I turned down firmly.

(Herzl tries to push the advantage of his interviews with the Kaiser, but he gradually perceives that the splendid receptions have led to nothing. He maintains his correspondence with the Grand Duke of Baden, he begins to feel out approaches to the Czar, he keeps an eye on Constantinople, but at the present time he is without proper inner directives. The Bank takes up a great deal of his time.)

December 20, 1898.

The founding of the Bank drags along in the fac of ludicrous difficulties. Wolffsohn reports that h has carried through the formal founding.

December 29, 1898.

Our situation is a desperate one—I cannot hide tha from myself.

After the great success of our Palestinian journe the inadequacy of our bank people and our mone men is actually catastrophic.

L., the secretary of the Bank, is already soundin the appeal; before long he will not have mone enough for current expenses.

January 2, 1899.

Wolffsohn was here for a couple of days. He raise my courage a little in regard to the Bank.

Finally I gave him 500 pounds for the guarante funds—which sum will possibly be lost.

January 16, 1899.

We are stuck. Something must happen. I hav decided to try to get an audience from the Cza through Baroness von Suttner.

(He writes to his friend the Baroness, asking her to use her influen with Count Muraviev for an approach to the Czar. He sees th Baroness before long, and is informed that an audience with th Czar is out of the question. The combination of diplomatic failu and bank difficulties depresses Herzl.)

February 11, 1899.

Days of discouragement. The tempo of the mov ment is slowing up. Our slogans are getting used u Our ideas have become oratorical effects, and th effects are becoming dull.

I am afraid to face the question of the Bank su scriptions. Wolffsohn reports that no reputab bank will accept subscriptions. Kann had th curious idea of using Cook's offices as subscriptio centers. I shall veto that.

Hechler wants to go to Karlsruhe again. Th Grand Duke telegraphed him he could come. I sha give him instructions to take along.

February 21, 1899.

Hechler was in Karlsruhe. The Grand Du invited me to come, and fixed the 27th for an audienc

On Sunday I submitted the matter to the Actio Committee: whether I should ask the Grand Du to accept the protectorate over the Land Compan Kokesch is in London, Schnirer did not attend th meeting, Marmorek, Kahn and Krementzky we unanimously for the idea. I said: the Congress ca disavow me later, if it does not agree with me. must always be prepared for future ingratitude. the present moment our situation is so desperate th without German help we shall remain stuck in th morass.

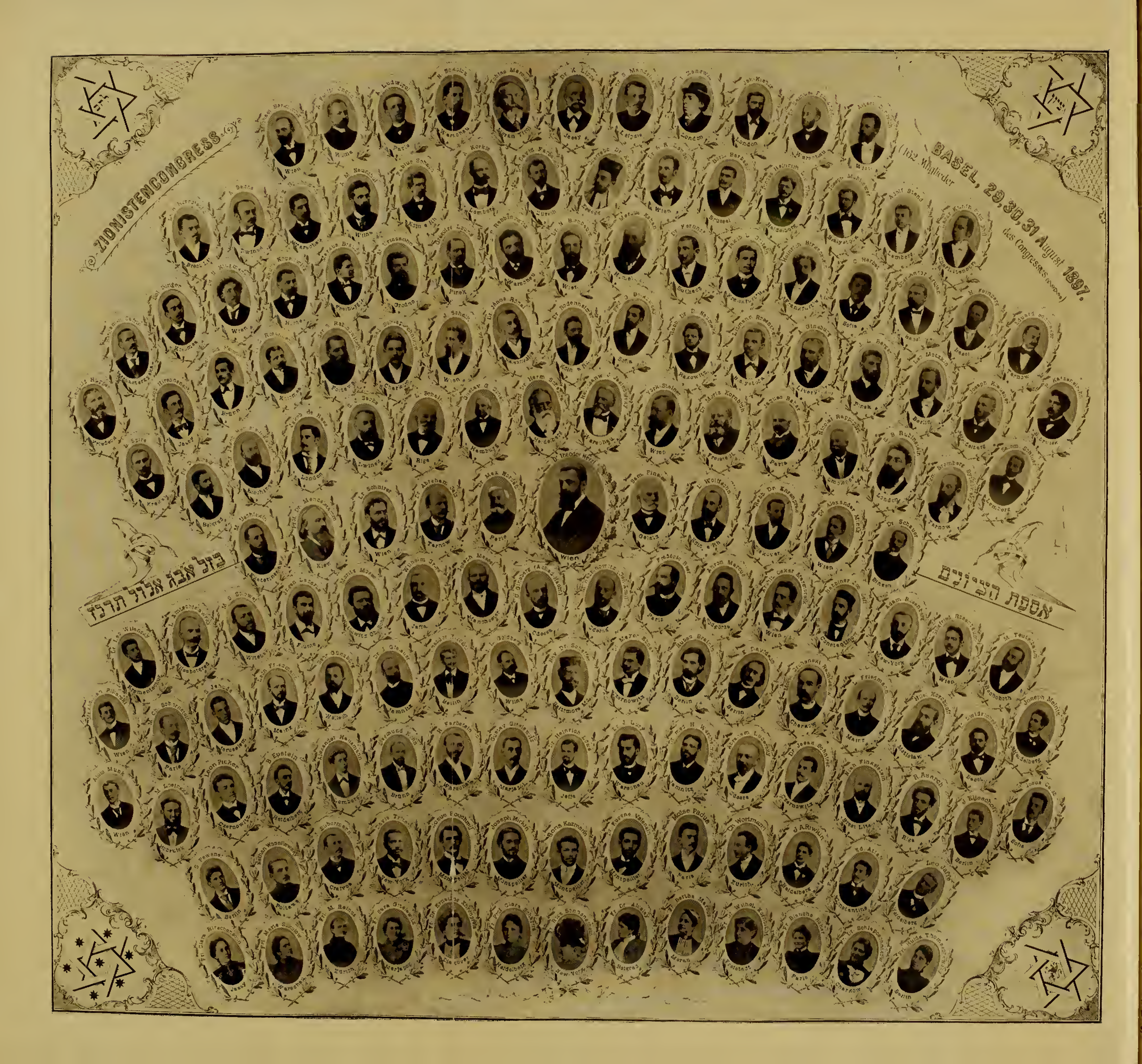
(He goes to see the Grand Duke, and finds him favorably inclin But the Grand Duke will not act without the consent of the Kais and Herzl must get another audience from the Kaiser. The latter however, preparing for a journey, cannot receive Herzl and ref

The Delegates

to the

First Zionist Congress

Basle, August, 1897


ZIONISTENCONGRESS
BASEL, 29,30,31 August 1897.
(162 Mitglieder des Congresses
בזל אבא אלול תרנז
אספת הציונים



BARONESS VON SUTTNER

him to Bülow. Herzl will not go to Bülow, knowing the latter to be an opponent. That closes this particular incident. And the Bank still drags along.)

March 4, 1899.

Kokesch returned to-day from London. The terrific English legal work is ended at last.

I issued instructions to-day to lose no more time and to receive subscriptions at the Jewish Colonial Bank in London. *Le dernier cartouche.* I am afraid that it will be a failure—*mais rien n'arrive ni comme on le craint ni comme on l'espère.*

To-day the Bank is the most difficult piece of work. Should it succeed, no man will ever suspect what we have gone through, and how much energy we have spent on it. For we have actually faced what amounted to a boycott of high finance against us.

(Herzl keeps up action, but without much conviction. He writes to Bülow, the Grand Duke and others—but things do not move. Above all the Bank worries him.)

March 29, 1899.

This morning I got a wire from the Colonial Bank which thoroughly depressed me.

The results of the first day's subscriptions are—8,000 shares.

In the evening came a second wire, which made a better impression, but which may be nothing but rubbish.

"In spite of hostility of press, tremendous local and provincial demand for subscription blanks."

"Tremendous" certainly rings well. But for what? A demand for blanks, not shares. Is that a trick of the little H., or is it really the beginning of a great success?

I am now in the mood in which Faust was when he was ready to sell his soul to the devil under any pact. If any man were to promise me the success of the shares to-day, I would sell him ten years of my life.

(Newlinsky comes into the picture again—and for the last time. Sickness has prevented Newlinsky from going to Rome on a mission for Herzl; now Herzl sends him to Constantinople.)

April 2, 1899.

WHEN I got up this morning I received the following wire from Poborski (in Constantinople):

"Newlinsky suddenly dead. On request of his wife send needed money if possible. To-morrow evening body will be sent back to Vienna. Dr. Poborski, Hotel Bristol."

This is a profound and unpleasant surprise, and it opens up further perspectives which are not comfortable.

I answered by wire:

"Maria von Newlinsky, Hotel Bristol, Constantinople. Deeply shaken. Share your sorrow from bottom of my heart. I remain the faithful friend of yourself and your children. Will discuss details personally. Sending thousand *francs* to Poborski. Herzl."

Then I had to go to the Temple in the Leopold-gasse, whither I had been invited by the officials. They gave me the *koved* of carrying the *Sefer Torah.*

As I stood in that holiest of places, and heard the Cantor murdering the beautiful melodies, I had to think of poor Newlinsky lying stretched out in the Hotel Bristol "with fine prospect on the Golden Horn."

I had already sent one thousand *francs* to Poborski *via* Oskar Marmorek.

In the afternoon the Actions Committee met at my house. We had to adjust ourselves to a difficult situation.

Newlinsky's death is something terrible for me. Although he was marked for death his wife will hold me responsible for this journey in spite of all the precautions I took. I made inquiries of his personal doctor through Poborski whether this journey could hurt his health. The answer was that he might die in his room any moment. And yet—and yet!

But Newlinsky is also a great loss to the movement. He had the best connections in Constantinople and in Rome. At this moment he is almost irreplaceable.

With him there disappears from the romance of the Zionist movement one of the most extraordinary figures. He was a fallen *grand seigneur*, sympathetic in spite of certain questionable characteristics, and a man of really charming manner.

April 3, 1899.

A miserable night. I could not get Newlinsky out of my head. I rack my brains trying to determine how great my guilt is. Should I have kept him back from the journey? He wanted to go somewhere to

the South. He went more willingly to Constantinople because the journey cost him nothing, gave him a personal physician to attend him, and promised great results. For fourteen years, since his first attack, he was a lost man. Did this journey take months from his life—or weeks, or days, or hours?

I told him often enough that he did not have to make the journey if he did not want to. I let him keep the two thousand *kronen* which I gave him for the journey to Rome, and never once threw it up to him.

Should I have kept him back?

April 3, 1899.

GREAT worries about the Bank.

H., the only director living in London, holds advisory meetings with Gaster and Bentwich, who are only representatives of representatives on the Advisory Council, and makes decisions involving matters of principle.

I shall wait until the subscription list is closed and then make order.

While these gentlemen direct affairs, the worries of getting money for the preliminary work devolve on me. The guarantee fund is exhausted; I believe the money is being badly managed. Now H. writes me that he needs another six hundred to one thousand pounds.

By accidental exchange of envelopes I found a letter from Wolffsohn to Kann. In it Wolffsohn advises that the subscription money should be used to cover expenses. In a letter to Wolffsohn I protested against this: likewise in a second letter to H., Gaster and Bentwich.

I don't like Wolffsohn's proposal. In any case, I shall watch the thing very closely for the future.

April 7, 1899.

THE Newlinsky case is peculiarly painful and dramatic. The man was never presentable; and those that made use of him, princes and governments, always tried their hardest to hide their relationship to him. He was in actuality the real "secret agent," such as you find in books. Now his corpse lies across our path, and there are certain people who are not a bit averse to writing down all his questionable enterprises to our account. Fortunately our account—even if we do not make it public—is clear, and in particular my conscience is calm.

I never had any other relation to him than this: that I accepted his intervention with the Sultan when he offered it.

He cost me much money, and he also got a subvention from the Committee. Whether he did anything for us with the Sultan, and whether he was in a position to do anything, I do not know till this day. He never gave me proof of it with the exception of the fact that he made me acquainted with a number of Turkish notables. And perhaps he played me off against these as editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*. This mystery he has taken with him to the grave.

Still, my conscience is clear toward the *shekel* payers in the matter of the subvention which I asked from the Committee. If he perhaps could not help us he could certainly do us a tremendous amount of harm. On occasions he hinted this to me, and I hastened to make friends with him before he passed over to blackmail. A single item in the *Correspondence de l'Est* could have represented us as dangerous enemies of Turkey or, in the best of cases, as a collection of irresponsible jesters.

April 10, 1899.

I went over to Madame Newlinsky's, and went over her husband's books with her. The situation was even more pitiful than I had suspected. The entire *Correspondence de l'Est* seems to have been a swindle.

And yet the man was helpful to us. The greatest service I obtained from him was that he taught me to have no respect for Pashas.

April 11, 1899. Evening.

I GOT a cable from London, according to which 228,000 shares had been sold up to this point. I could not trust my eyes, and I cabled back, asking whether two hundred and twenty-eight thousand shares had really been sold up till now. If the answer is in the affirmative, the subscription is a success, for the next eighteen days will bring in as much again.

That would be a success such as I myself have not dared to hope for.

April 13, 1899.

The 228,000 was a bubble. My inquiry brought other figures. The question of the success of the subscription therefore still remains open.

April 21, 1899.

The incompetence of the London bank office surpasses all bounds. Is it unwillingness or laziness? To-day, during the last week of the subscription, we receive the figures for the Russian subscription to go into *Die Welt—which appeared yesterday!* The Rumanian figures are still not here.

I shall go to Cologne to-morrow to discuss things. I had still wanted to finish this sixth volume of the *Diaries* with a definite chapter—the success or the failure of the subscriptions.

As it is the book ends with a big



VOLUME SEVEN

(The Bank is not yet under way. Subscriptions come in too slowly. And Herzl is perpetually worrying about the time he has to take off from his journalistic duties: he is afraid of losing his position.)

April 25, 1899.

NEVER was a greater task undertaken with less adequate means.

To-morrow I must again ask pardon of my "chiefs" for the leave of absence I have taken without

their permission. Who knows how long they will let me carry on in this way.

The movement demands my constant travel; and there is no doubt about it that the *Neue Freie Presse* can dismiss me for neglect of duty "with all the respect in the world for differences of opinion." This pitiful clash of duties wearies me, unnerves me and wears me out more than anything else.

(Herzl, forever on the lookout for new approaches to the main problem, writes to Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett, who is passing through Vienna. Nothing comes of it. The Bank moves slowly, and Herzl also has the task of creating a new contact with Turkish officialdom in the place of the defunct Newlinsky. Also he sends Baroness von Suttner to the World Peace Conference at the Hague, for *Die Welt*, in the hope of bringing Zionism to the attention of the Czar and others. He goes to the Hague himself to be on hand.)

June 13, 1899.

If I were younger the movement these days in the Hague would give me plenty of material for these books. But I am used up, blasé, with all these struggles and adventures.

This explains the fact that people who do and experience many wonderful things seldom write anything wonderful.

I came here because the Baroness von Suttner is here and might bring me together with some of the Czar's people.

Immediately on the first evening I became acquainted with the Russian Senator Bloch, who gave the Czar this peace idea. A clever, educated old merchant Jew. He interests me and, it appears, I him.

June 17, 1899.

Yesterday evening N. Bey came to see me. We ate in the dining-room near my room. I wanted to speak to him alone, not in the midst of the Suttner group. We began to talk about Newlinsky. N. issued the severest judgment on him, at first cautiously. It appears that Newlinsky had betrayed me, had never brought my ideas before the proper persons; perhaps he had offered himself to them in the capacity of spy.

As the talk became more intimate—with the champagne—N. said: "Let's put it plainly; this Newlinsky was a dog."

The talk became very intimate. When N. perceived that I was hesitating on the brink of the subject, he made it very easy for me, and spoke openly, directly and cynically:

"There are persons who would like to earn some money. I shall put a group together for you which will put the business through in Yildiz. The Sublime Porte simply does not count. Each man must get something, this man so much, the other man so much. I stand in well with all of them."

Paris, June 19, 1899, in the Hotel Castille.

Out of a feeling of piety I still stay, when in Paris, in this old place where I wrote my *Judenstaat* four years ago. What a [illegible] it has been since then! And what exhaustion. My heart is used up. I suffer from heart pains, arrhythmia.

(He has difficulty in obtaining leave from his paper to attend the Third Congress.)

August 11, 1899 (on the way to the Congress).

DURING these days something occupies my mind more than my still unprepared Congress speech, the Princess, and my slavery in the *Neue Freie Presse*—namely, the plan for my new drama, *Die Sündige Mutter*, which charms me in prospect.

(His impressions of the Third Congress are brief.)

August 17, 1899.

The Third Congress!

My impressions: on the first day I was miserably bored in my presidential chair; on the second day I was angry.

Gaster came and agitated against me in corridors and the Committees; it is coming to a break between us.

A sort of arbitration committee was put together, and there he stated all his charges against me. I answered him, showed that he was in the wrong, and we shook hands.

But he was so little placated that he still created sentiment against me—namely, when he was in the chair.

Greenberg spoke in English against the Actions Committee. Gaster translated with passionate pleasure.

We sat until two in the morning discussing the Bank. The discussions became respectably dull and sleepy, just as in a real parliament.

August 21, 1899.

The Congress went off smoothly. A good *Stimmung* was again reached—and that will in turn be lost gradually. But the work was made easier for us this time by an advance loan on the *shekels*. The good Schalit of Riga, Dr. Katzenelsohn and Sachs promised five thousand *kronen* each, so that I could take steps toward Turkey and promise N. direct *baksheesh*.

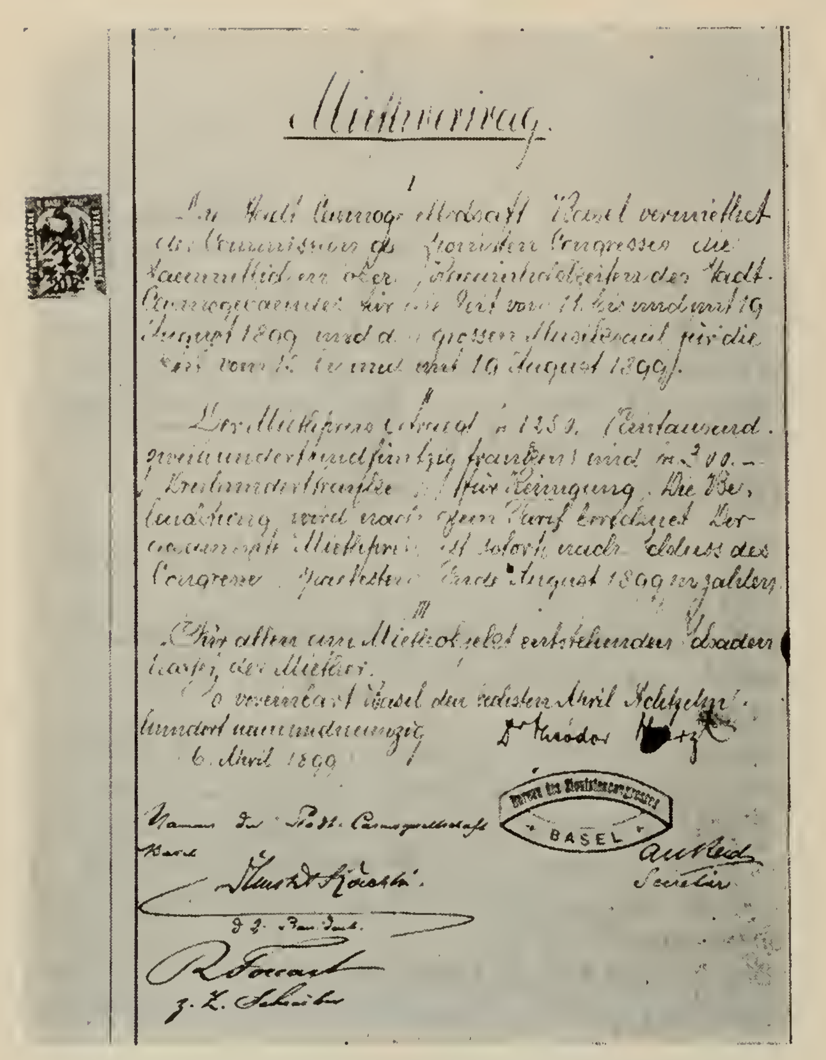
And now, after having for a week tasted what it feels like to be free and a master, I must go back to my wretched slavery on the *Neue Freie Presse*, where I am not allowed to have on opinion of my own. And the question is that of a miserable few thousand *gulden* which I dare not, as the father of a family, give up.

August 23, 1899.

"*J'ai connu la grande blessure de l'argent*," says Henri Becque.

Je la connais aussi. My work will look much more marvelous when people will get to know with what money worries I had to struggle as a result of efforts for Zionism.

I miss at every turn the fifty thousand *kronen* which I have sunk in the movement: the lack of


Mietvertrag.

6. April 1899

Dr Theodor Herzl

BASEL

THE LEASE FOR THE THIRD CONGRESS

the money makes me less free than ever in my relations to the *Neue Freie Presse*. I must tremble for fear of being sent away; I dare not take a holiday for my health on account of the six weeks which I already took for Zionist affairs.

So to-day I come back to the editorial offices after having been a free and great man in Basle, and must stand timidly before Chief Editor Bacher like a messenger boy.

Horrible!

August 24, 1899.

Again I went to the offices ready for the fight. Again the same grinning faces of those who refuse to believe. But their grin, it seems to me, has become older, and less courageous.

Bacher greeted me *comme si de rien n'était*, as though he had not poisoned the last fourteen days for me. He spoke with patronizing irony of the Congress: "But soon you must shake yourself free of this thing."

"I am not even thinking of it," I said. "Why?"

"Because the Bank will make a stink."

"This Bank," I said, "is cleaner than the ones we are accustomed to seeing and praising in the papers."

(On August 23, 1899, Herzl writes the following frank letter, in French, to N.)

"YOUR Excellency:

I am about to return to Vienna. I shall put the matter in two words. To begin with I shall remit you twenty thousand *francs* on the day when I shall be received by the Sultan in order to place my Zionist plan before him.

"It is understood that it is not for his consent that I am offering this first and small sign of my friendship: it is only for an audience in which I shall be able to unfold all the advantages which we could bring to Turkey in exchange for the Charter."

(On August 28th he goes to see N. Bey in person, at the Hotel Imperial, in Vienna.)

Yesterday I went to see N. Bey. I found him in shirt sleeves making up his baggage for his journey to Semmering.

At first he was dry, unfriendly, as if he did not know why I had come.

Soon I got the truth out—the twenty thousand *francs* were not enough. He said: "Considering your position in the Zionist movement, an audience means a great deal to you. Besides, any banker would offer me twice as much as you did for an audience with the Sultan."

"We won't haggle about that," I said. "You will get forty thousand."





COMMEMORATING ONE OF THE CONGRESSES ON A BRONZE MEDALLION GIV[illegible] TO THE DELEGATES

Whereupon he began to be more human. The thing was not so easy, he said. An agent had to be employed who would make *Stimmung* for us in Turkish circles. He wanted to name such a man for me. It was a certain E.C., his man of confidence, who was also used by high officials in order to collect their gifts. I saw what it was: some sort of Levantine rogue who, if need arose, could be denied or put out of the way.

"You ought to give this man ten thousand or fifteen thousand *francs*, to make *Stimmung* for you."

I saw where this was leading to. Money talks. I said to him, almost harshly: "I shall give you ten thousand *francs* in advance, and thirty thousand on the day of the audience. How you use that money is your business. I won't ask you what you have done with it."

He became as soft as butter and said: "Done! I'll have to add some money of my own to it, but the speculation is worth it. I believe I can earn a couple of million on this: and that's worth a risk."

I behaved as though I believed him. Then he waxed boastful: the things he was able to do; he was a lawyer, an engineer, knew how to put up any kind of factory.

And now I have to worry about raising these ten thousand *francs*. Yesterday I telegraphed at once to the signatories of the floating debt: Schalit, Barbasch, Katzenelsohn, Sachs.

The first answer came from the good Schalit: he had already sent his five thousand.

August 30, 1899.

To-day I received an amazing letter from N. in Semmering. It is a half sheet, with the following words in disguised print writing:

"Mr. Charles is of the opinion, after ripe reflection and calculation, that if friendly advice were accepted, the first sum would be raised to fifteen thousand—to be deducted from the thirty thousand payable afterwards."

There was included a card:

N. Bey, *Secrétaire Général du Ministre*
Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

This card had been bent at the right bottom corner, and then straightened out. The purpose of this, I believe, is to make it look as though it had been picked up by some one off a card tray.

August 30, 1899.

TO-DAY, as I sat on the rattling omnibus which took me out to Währing, I thought of the title of my Zion novel: *Alt-Neuland.*

I got the hint from the name of the Prague *Altneuschul.*

It will become a famous word.

September 4, 1899.

Yesterday, after the opera, I had supper in the Hotel Bristol, with Martin Fürth. He told me that the day before he had met N. Bey at the races. The latter had spoken to him very favorably of Zionism. It was not impossible, he had said, to win the Sultan over to the idea, as the latter was a friend of the Jews.



THE LATE CZAR NICHOLAS
Whom Herzl Wished to Interest in Palestine

But the newspapers ought not to write that we want to found a Jewish Empire.

N. Bey, said Fürth, has been very serious about it. He asked me if I knew him. "Very faintly," I said.

September 13, 1899.

Marcou Baruch, the anarchist, has shot himself in Florence. This obviously demented person kept threatening me from the Second to the Third Congress. I was seriously afraid that he would make an attempt on my life in Basle this time. But I had no one to protect me.

He could be near me all the time, in front of me, close behind me. He could have stabbed me whenever he wanted to. But I seem to have subdued him with my looks, for he always spoke in a shy and friendly way to me. But his suicide proves that I was right when I read murder in his eye.

And many lunatics come to me now. I am looked up to by Messiahs of all kinds. The latest was a "Jesus Christ" by the name of Lichtneckert, who in an otherwise intelligent letter writes that I am Elijah—*his* Elijah—and that I should provide him with five thousand *kronen* for the publication of his world-redeeming book. I gave the letter to my good Hechler, who will visit the man and pacify him.

In this connection Hechler told me the following story: "When I was in Stockholm a false Jesus appeared. He was trying to get his twelve Apostles together. But when Good Friday came he saw the Apostles binding planks of wood together. He asked them what this was for. They answered: 'We are going to crucify you.' That, however, was too much for him, and he disappeared from the district."

(About this time Herzl renews his efforts to reach the Russian Czar. He writes the Grand Duke of Baden, pleading with him to arrange an audience for him. The Grand Duke makes an unsuccessful attempt. As a matter of fact Herzl never manages to reach the Czar. At the same time Herzl keeps working on Turkish statesmen. He is in financial difficulties in connection with *Die Welt*, which he has been maintaining till now out of his own pocket: He must now come to the Actions Committee to take the periodical over.)

November 9, 1899.

HAD *Die Welt* provided me with a material fall-back, things would be better and move faster. But from the outset I had to state that the ultimate profits from the paper would belong to the movement. But as against this the movement has left me in difficulties, and the *Welt* itself has cost me over twenty-five thousand *kronen*. As if this weren't enough, they are turning against this paper, to which we owe the development of the movement for the last three years, the Congress and the Bank. Every one is dissatisfied with the articles. Every one wants to appear in it—but I alone must pay.

This is a good lesson for me. I suppose it would be even worse if I were completely ruined.

"Put not your trust in Princes—
They are an eternal delusion"

is something I might well say about the "help" of the German Kaiser.

But when I think of my followers, so easily prone to rebellion, I can add the end of the verse:

"He that cries Hosannah for you to-day
To-morrow will cry: 'Crucify!' "

And indeed, I put my trust neither in Princes, nor in the people, but in myself.

I must work furiously to cover my needs: one theatre piece after another (unfortunately the productions are delayed) and now the novel, *Altneuland*.

As grist for the mill I have even been compelled to rewrite my old farce, *Muttersöhnchen*, and to put in a rôle for the comedian Girardi. When this becomes known, there will be reproaches that I, the "Prophet," do this dirty work. But what can I do?

Zionism costs me money and must bring me no return. On the other hand my reputation as a German writer has been greatly damaged, and the producers are afraid to take my pieces. The same reasons make any promotion in the *Neue Freie Presse* hopeless. Against this, the demands on me grow from day to day. *Schnorrers* of every kind come to me—even from Persia. I must constantly give money for the Bank, the Congress and *Die Welt*.

If all this were known, I should perhaps cause even more astonishment than I do.

But the explanation which circulates publicly is either that all this brings me piles of money, or else that I do it out of vanity.

And if I should break down, I should be trampled under foot; they would laugh at me and be ungrateful.

Very well then: I must not break down!

(Again the agony of Herzl in the *Neue Freie Presse* takes up long pages in the *Diaries*. At first he has hopes of buying an interest in the paper—but the hopes are frustrated. Contrary to his expectations, he is offered a considerable increase in salary—the highest the paper is paying—when he threatens to resign.)

December 27, 1899.

FROM Constantinople nothing, nothing, nothing. *Je me désespère.*

Just because the hope of being called was so high, the disappointment from day to day is the more painful.

December 29, 1899.

Yesterday I had a talk with the American Ambassador to Turkey, Oscar Straus, who was passing through Vienna.

A man of middle height, lean, thin reddish beard, hook-nosed, Jewish protruding ears, thin hair, dry, smart, and yet sympathetic because of his honest eyes. After five minutes we were on intimate terms, although he said in advance that I had the reputation of being indiscreet. But he did not take my disregard of consequences in bad part, for in such big things one could not spare persons. He himself, as a man in office, could be neither for nor against Zionism. He considered my word of honor, that I would say nothing in the open about our interview, as superfluous.

He considers Palestine unattainable for us. The Greek and Roman Catholic Churches would never permit it. I said that I saw only Rome as opponent. The profound reasons I forgot to give him: namely, that only Rome is a world idea, like Judaism. Rome is the rich brother, who hates the poor brother. The other churches are only national, and therefore do not need the Archimedean fulcrum of Jerusalem.

Straus is for Mesopotamia! He knew that quite a time ago a pamphlet on Mesopotamia, by Cyrus Adler, was sent to me through certain friends in America (Richard Sulzberger and others).

Yesterday, when my piece *I Love You* was produced at the *Burgtheater*, my Zionism again stood in the way. At the end of this harmless piece there was considerable hissing, which certainly could not have been due to this innocent comedy.

I may not live on Zionism; I dare not live on literature.

A problem!

(Bank problems, problems of diplomatic negotiations, problems of the organization accumulate. Meanwhile he has to appear in the office of his newspaper every day.)

March 17, 1900.

With all these things in my head, I had to go to the office to-day to write a light paragraph about the

Fashion Show for the *Neue Freie Presse*. Clown and leader in one.

Moses had it easier.

(For a time Herzl is closely in touch with Prime Minister von Koerber, who wishes to use Herzl's influence on the *Neue Freie Presse* for his own political purposes. Herzl hopes thereby to be able to use Koerber ultimately for Zionist purposes. Nothing of any value comes of the long negotiations. In April of this year he again sees the Grand Duke, and then proceeds to London, chiefly to look after the affairs of the Bank.)

April 25, 1900. London.

Bank worries.

In the city I am a sort of banker. Curious adventure. In the Burlington Hotel, in 1898, I was a promoter. Now the Bank is established, *aber fragt mich nur nicht wie.*

May 1, 1900 (on the return journey).

The poor Jews really have extraordinarily bad luck. When a man does arise who could and would help them—for I am convinced that by my personal intervention I have moved the thing forward swiftly—then he must be economically enslaved, and must tremble for his children's bread.

I have a first class epitaph for myself:

"He had too high an opinion of the Jews."

(On June 2nd it is decided to hold the next Congress [the fourth] in London, instead of in Basle. Herzl reads in the papers that Arminius Vambery has been called from Budapest to the Sultan. He sees at once a new approach. He sends Hechler down to Budapest and arranges a meeting with Vambery. He is at a loss as to the next course of action, and for a moment entertains the thought of coming out openly against Turkey—but decides the movement is too weak to produce any effect.)

June 11, 1900.

THE difference between me and Sabbatai Zevi (as I imagine him) is, apart from the changes in the technical possibilities, this: Sabbatai Zevi made himself great, so that he might be the equal of the great of the earth. But I find the great small, as small as myself.

June 17, 1900.

Yesterday I traveled fourteen hours express from Vienna to Mühlbach to Vambery, stayed fifteen hours, and then hurried back because my wife is in bed with inflammation of the throat.

I learned to know, in this limping, seventy-year-old Hungarian Jew, one of the most interesting men. He does not know any more whether he is a Turk or an Englishman. He is a German writer, speaks twelve languages with equal perfection, has confessed five religions and has been a priest in two of them. An intimate knowledge of so many religions must naturally make an atheist of a man. He told me a thousand and one stories of the Orient, of his intimacy with the Sultan, etc.

He at once acquired complete confidence in me, and told me in strict confidence that he was a secret agent of England and of Turkey. His professorship in Budapest was merely a protective cover, after he had long been tormented by being in the midst of anti-Jewish society. He sent Hechler away abruptly; he wanted to be alone with me. He began:

"I don't want any money; I am a rich man. I couldn't eat golden beefsteaks if I wanted to. I have a quarter of a million and don't need more than half of my income. If I help you, it is for the sake of the thing."

He listened to the details of our plan, the money question, etc. He told me confidentially that the Sultan had called him in order to influence the European papers in his behalf. Could I help along?

I answered evasively.

In between he returned to the noteworthiest of his adventures, which were noteworthy enough. He had become an agent of England through Disraeli. In Turkey he had begun his career as a singer in a coffee-house; a year and a half later he had been intimate with the Grand Vizier. He could have slept in the Yildiz Kiosk (palace) but might have been murdered. He eats at the Sultan's table—absolutely informal—but he can't get the thought of poison out of his head. And a hundred other picturesque things.

I said to him: "Vambery Baschi—if I may call you by the name Nordau uses—write to the Sultan to receive me. First, because I can serve him in the Press. Second, because the mere fact of my appearing there will raise his credit.

"What I should like most would be to have you as interpreter."

But he was afraid of the strain of the summer journey.

When I left it was uncertain whether he would do anything.

VOLUME EIGHT

June 21, 1900.

VAMBERY writes me from Mühlbach; he says that nothing can be done through letters with the *mamser ben-nide* (the Sultan).

I answered: "*Kedves batyam uram.* What you say is not encouraging. You also say *Yavash*, like the original Turks. But I have no time to lose. You don't have to tell your *mamser* that the matter is new to you. I think you can write him that after 'long meditation and ripe calculation' you can recommend this source of information and help. You don't have to tell him how many *chibbuks* you smoked and how many thousands of cups of coffee you consumed during the course of these calculations.

"Your first word to me was that you were no *Vonz-Melamed*. And I do consider you a man of action, a man of my race, which I believe to have infinite energy.

Yours, Th."

(Herzl's health begins to show signs of the strain. June 21st he has an attack in the office of *Die Welt*. With difficulty he must arrange for a three-day rest. August 21st, in London, he falls sick on the eve of the Fourth Congress, and is confined to his bed for three days.)

August 14, 1900.

The Congress is the richest in numbers we have had so far. Its proceedings are already in the papers.

I myself have felt no inner richness of experience from this Congress.

The mass meeting on Sunday evening, in the East End, no longer meant anything to me. The cheers of the crowd mean nothing more.

A new note was the Botanical Garden party on Sunday. The entire public followed me around in compact masses. I should have liked to enjoy this fine English garden, but I was crushed under royal honors. They looked at me in amazement as I drank a cup of tea. They put out children toward me, introduced ladies to me: gray-haired old men wanted to kiss my hand. And whenever they did these things, I wanted to ask them: "Excuse me, why do you do these things?"

Yesterday, during the afternoon session, I handed the chair over to Gaster and Nordau, and went swiftly to the Kensington Gardens. There, amid the lovely scenery, in front of the lake, I drank a cup of tea in peace.

August 20, 1900. On the boat from Dover to Calais.

"The Fourth Zionist Congress is closed."

Much noise, perspiration and the beating of drums. Of course no "work" was done, but the result was splendid just the same. We staged a demonstration in the presence of the English world, and note was taken of it. On the whole the English Press had just the kind of reports we could and would use.

September 18, 1900.

Yesterday, Sunday, I went to see Vambery in Pest.

Moods of the city of my childhood.

But the practical results were almost nothing.

Vambery again told me things about himself—the same things that he told me once before.

He gave me his word of honor that by May of next year I should be received by the Sultan.

The fact is, I don't understand how he can give me his word of honor in a matter which does not depend on him. But I must be satisfied with everything.

Apart from all this, I am utterly played out.

September 20, 1900.

I am so devoid of life and energy that I cannot even enter up important and interesting events. Naturally they will thus be forgotten.

October 5, 1900.

That was a clever piece of work—the questionnaire sent out by the English Zionist Federation to the Parliamentary candidates.

Sixty have declared themselves for Zionism.

This is the best piece of work that has been undertaken in the movement for a long time.

(An unhoped-for opportunity suddenly presents itself for a new approach to the Turkish powers.)

October 15, 1900.

I HAVE just received a letter from N. in which h tells me that the Government is "desperately i need of seven hundred to eight hundred thousan pounds"—and is ready to offer the customs incom as guarantee. Six and one-half per cent. interest.

I am to appear as the *deus ex machina*, help in th matter, and when it is put through I shall be receive by the Sultan.

I answered with the following wire [in French]:

"You can inform that we shall make offers of a advance of seven hundred thousand on guarante indicated in your letter on condition I am permitte to negotiate directly with 363 n.c. [Sultan]. Th matter can be concluded in short time.

"Note that I shall do nothing unless I am calle by 363 to submit my offers orally."

I am asking six and one half to make the thin plausible. If I offered too easy conditions, the would bear the stamp of improbability.

October 30, 1900.

Are we nearer a decision than I myself believed?

Yesterday I received the following wire:

"If to-morrow you can advance two hundred thou sand on account of the seven hundred thousand a six per cent. I shall obtain an invitation before th Ramazan for you to lay your offer before the Imperia throne. Telegraph. C."

Since it is impossible to believe that C. woul send an uncoded telegram from Pera in which h speaks of the Throne and the Palace, unless he ha the right to do so, I must consider the matter a serious.

I reply:

"You speak now of six per cent. after havin begun with six and a half. But I could probabl overcome this difficulty if I could assure myself pe sonally that 363 is favorably inclined toward u The two hundred thousand on account of the seve hundred thousand will be paid eight days after m reception."

My plan of action, in case I am called to the Sulta has long been ready.

I shall send at once for Wolffsohn and Katzenelsoh Wolffsohn must go to Kann, to the Hague, and as him whether he could place this loan with Dutc banks, if necessary. As a reward I shall again le them participate in the Colonial Bank.

Katzenelsohn must at once try to interest Polyako Brodsky, etc.

While I am traveling to Constantinople, they wi be traveling to the Hague and St. Petersburg, so th I shall have their wires on my arrival.

I shall send Kokesch to London, to prepare fif thousand holders' shares, which will then be se to Russia for sale.

All key men will be instructed to call mass meeting

On the day when my reception by the Sultan is ade public, a thousand mass meetings for share ıbscriptions must take place.

Oskar Marmorek will be sent to Pest, to call on 'ambery to go with me to Constantinople.

Kremenetzky will go with me to Constantinople.

Alex Marmorek must prepare Edmond Rothschild nd the ICA for my visit to Paris.

The English Federation will be convened for the ay when I arrive in London from Constantinople.

I am ready.

And now probably nothing will come of it.

November 12, 1900.

We are again at low tide. Our treasury is almost mpty. A few hundred *kronen* left to meet expenses n December 1st.

But I am tired of giving money and of asking for ıoney.

The other members of the A.C. have no advice to ffer.

(But the affair drags. Three days pass without any news.)

November 15, 1900.

After consultation with my father and Kremenetzky sent the following wire to C.:

"The money is ready. Why do I not hear from ou?"

November 16, 1900.

A wire from Wolffsohn. Kann will write me the tter I asked for: that his firm is ready to advance ıe seven hundred thousand pounds against sufficient uarantee.

A reply from Vambery in reply to my last letter. Ie wrote the Sultan at once, asking for telegraphic nswer, asking whether the news about me and the ɔan was true. If it were so, he would go at once to onstantinople, have me follow, and the situation /ould be favorable for us.

(Still the affair drags. No news from Constantinople for nearly vo weeks.)

November 24, 1900.

A wire from C.

"Be patient for another few days. Everything oing well. Write. C."

November 30, 1900.

THE funds of the Actions Committee are so low that we have not the salaries for December, nor he thousand *francs* for C.

I feel at the end of my forces, and during these ays I have had a darker outlook than ever before. 'he idea of retiring from this now begins to attack ne with real strength.

Perhaps I only write this down in the hope of being ble to look back on it in brighter days. So that I night then be able to say: "In the days when our ıeed was the sorest, etc. . . . "

I am naturally a too complicated man to keep a ıaïve diary, even when I try hard not to pose. I orever feel the future peering over my shoulder.

(There follow many days of strain and uncertainty. Herzl keeps up correspondence with Turkey. He goes to see Vambery in Budapest. He learns that a group of German financiers has intervened, with an offer for railroad rights. In between a new combination offers itself whereby Herzl may become independent of the *Neue Freie Presse*, but again this comes to nothing. The affair with Turkey drags on and dies out. January 17, 1901, Herzl writes Vambery and tells him that this attempt is closed and that the Dutch firm has withdrawn its offer; the demands for *baksheesh* from high Turkish officials had become impossible. Sleepless nights, after the failure of his attempt with Turkey, and the failure of his dreams of an independent newspaper.)

January 21, 1901.

Last night I played cards with my wife's relatives. I wanted to play long, so as to be able to sleep through the short night, so that to-day my brain might not be as dulled as after the other sleepless nights.

But I lost heavily and was greatly angered. That should teach me to go carefully in my present negotiations and to lose like a good sport.

January 30, 1901.

Three months torn out of my life, in fragments, in "great expectations."

First it was that fellow C. who pulled me around, and then the big industrialists with their newspaper. In between I let my novel lie unwritten, and the longer it lies unwritten the worse it becomes, and the less desire I have for it.

Now I must go again to London, and it will be three weeks before I can sit down at my writing-table.

The wind blows through the stubble. I feel my autumn coming. I run the risk of leaving for my children neither a work for the world, nor yet money.

It would be ridiculous for me to start the novel two days before I leave. But I give myself my word of honor that I shall begin it immediately on my return.

February 4, 1901. Paris.

Until the last moment before my departure I still hoped to hear something about that newspaper.

Nothing. *Mort et enterre.*

(He hopes, in London, to get at Turkey through a new combination. For that purpose he must meet the London Rothschild. In spite of the efforts of Israel Zangwill and Lady Battersea, Rothschild will not meet Herzl. At the same time Marmorek wires from London that Edmond Rothschild, too, refuses to have anything to do with the plan. Herzl returns to Vienna with nothing achieved.)

March 14, 1901.

I am working eagerly now at *Altneuland.*

My hopes of practical success have melted away. My life is now no romance. But the romance is now my life.

(For a time Herzl plays with the idea of settling in London, to be in a better position for Zionist work. Nothing comes of this plan.)

May 2, 1901.

To-day I am forty-one years old:

"The wind blows through the stubble;
My steps must now be double."

Nearly six years have passed since I began this movement which has made me old, tired and poor.

(Unexpectedly comes the call to Constantinople, through Vambery. A hasty meeting of the Actions Committee takes place in Herzl's house just before the departure, and he issues instructions all around in the event of a successful interview with the Sultan.)

May 13, 1901.
Constantinople.

HERE, after five years, I sit in the same Royal Hotel, in the same room that I occupied when I began the business through Newlinsky. I look out of the window at the Golden Horn, as another man. Beauty no longer moves me. The world has ceased to be Imagination, and has become Will.

(Interminable *baksheesh* worries block and hinder his progress. On May 18th he at last accomplishes what he has so long dreamed of: the interview with the Sultan, Abdul Hamid.)

A few minutes later I was led back again through the vestibule to the audience chamber on the right.

"The Ruler" stood before me, exactly as I had pictured him to myself: small, lean, with a big hook-nose, dyed beard, a weak trembling voice. He wore the big uniform of the Selamlik, a mantle above his shield coat, diamond orders, gloves. He gave me his hand and we sat down. He sat on the divan, the sword between his knees. Ibrahim both sat and stood. He kept jumping up, the better to hear His Majesty's words, and then translated; he also translated what I said, in turn.

The Sultan began with *Salamaleks;* so did I. He said he always read the *Neue Freie Presse.* I only ask myself how, since he does not know German. It was the paper, he said, from which he got his information about the Transvaal, China, etc. I then thanked the Sultan for the High Order he had given me. We then spoke about the friendly relations between our countries (meaning Turkey and Austria). He was glad to hear that everything was well with Franz Joseph, etc.

But this was not enough for me. I told him through Ibrahim that I was devoted to him because he was good to the Jews. The Jews all over the world were grateful to him. I in particular was ready to serve him in every way possible, naturally not on a small scale—I left that to others—but on a large scale. Before going further, I said that I would not make public the contents of the audience. He thanked me, took two cigarettes out of a silver cigarette-box, handed one to me, took the other himself. Ibrahim, who dared not smoke, lit his cigarette and then mine.

Then the Sultan said: "I always have been and still am a friend of the Jews. I rely chiefly on Mussulmans and Jews. I haven't as much faith in my other subjects as in them."

I then complained of the injustices which are committed all over the world against the Jews, and he said he had always kept his Empire open as a refuge for the Jews.

Then I said: "When Professor Vambery told me that Your Majesty would receive me, I had to think of the old story of Androcles and the Lion. Your Majesty is the Lion, I am perhaps Androcles, and perhaps there is a thorn to be drawn out."

He acknowledged the compliment with a smile.

"The Public Debt I consider to be the thorn. If this could be removed then Turkey could once more blossom in her strength, in which I believe."

He sighed, and smiled sighing. Ibrahim then translated. Ever since he had entered on his glorious reign His Majesty had been trying to remove the thorn. The debt had been accumulated under the high predecessors of His Majesty, and it had not been possible to get rid of it. If I could be helpful in this regard, it would be very fine.

"Well then," I said, "I believe I can. But the first and principal condition, a condition precedent, is absolute secrecy."

The Ruler lifted his eyes to heaven, placed his hand on his bosom and murmured: "Secret, secret!"

I explained my request. The Powers, who wanted to see Turkey weak, would do everything in their power to prevent recovery. They would exert every effort to prevent the operation. That he could understand.

I said—as from now on I kept the reins of the conversation in my hand—that I could carry through this operation through my friends on all the Exchanges of Europe, if I had the help of His Majesty. But this help had to consist, at the right time, of a mass measure in favor of the Jews, made public in the proper way.

Ibrahim sucked in with astounded looks the words of his master and translated them with joy. "His Majesty has a court jeweler, who is a Jew. He could give anything of a friendly nature to him, to publish in the papers. He also has a Chief Rabbi for the Jews, the Chacham Bashi. He could also tell him."

This I would not accept. I remembered what Dr. Marcus had told me, that the Chacham Bashi spat whenever my name was mentioned.

(Herzl lays before the Sultan general plans for the development of the natural resources of the Turkish Empire. They then speak of the unification of the Ottoman debt. The audience lasts two hours.)

I went out. In the vestibule many hands were stretched out to me for *baksheesh.* I distributed gold pieces. My overcoat, which I had to check several times, costs me a fortune.

(N., who had done nothing to arrange the audience with the Sultan, claims his money nevertheless, and Herzl has to pay it out. The next day Herzl receives from the Sultan a diamond stickpin, as token of friendliness. He notes:)

The diamond stickpin was the only result of this day.

May 19, 1901.

SOMETIMES I am compelled to withhold my fresh impressions from this book, because I should have to put them down in the very place where an unlucky chance or a spying trick might turn them into ar



SULTAN ABDUL HAMID

accusation against me. Here, on the Rumanian ship on the Black Sea, I feel free.

That is why the favorable things which I here put down about the Sultan will have, for the future, the value of truth.

Naturally neither his order nor his diamond have influenced me in the slightest. These things leave me, as they would every other sensible man, quite cold. For me they have only political value, which I calmly estimate, neither overvaluing nor undervaluing it. I believe that we can make some sort of capital out of it for the movement. We shall become stronger through it, get more strength, and through the new strength again move forward.

My impression of the Sultan is that he is a weak, cowardly, but thoroughly well-meaning person. I think he is neither treacherous nor cruel, but a deeply unhappy prisoner, in whose name a thieving, infamous and dishonest *camerilla* commit the most shameful acts.

If I had not to worry about the Zionist movement, I should go away from there and write an article which would give the poor prisoner his liberty. Abdul Hamid Khan II is a collective name for the most rascally band of thieves which ever made a land insecure and unhappy. I have never even dreamed of the possibility of such a troupe *de malfaiteurs*. The dishonesty and bribery which begin at the door of the palace and wind up only at the foot of the throne are probably not the worst. Everything is business, and every official is a thief. At least, I hear this on every side, and from what I know of the way things are done, I do not believe this to be a calumny.

In my idea for a play, *The Ruler*, there rose in my imagination such a characterless company of servants, weakened and unnerved by the fear of slavery, such as is represented by modern capitalist dependence. But the "Ruler," played by a comedian, should be a foolish, laughable, weak man. Thus the tragedy of subjection would be made even more powerful by the comic character of the "Lord." This ludicrous Sultan is exactly the fulfilment of my idea—and yet not exactly, for I must pity him. Perhaps my idea for the drama might be made deeper with the fact that the manufacturer, the "Lord," is secretly bankrupt.

I still see him before me, this Sultan of the dying robber kingdom. Small, shabby, with his badly dyed beard—which is probably dyed only once in the week, for the Selamlik. The hook-nose of a clown, the long yellow teeth and the big gap in the upper jaw to the right. The fez drawn down deep over his head, which is probably bald—the protruding ears. The strengthless hands in the big white gloves, and the ill-fitting, big, multicolored cuffs. The bleating voice, the limitation in every word. And that rules! As a matter of fact he rules only in appearance and in name.



HERZL'S PASS TO THE SULTAN

(Before his departure from Constantinople, and after his audience with the Sultan, Herzl also speaks at some length separately with Ibrahim, and with others.)

HIS Majesty the Sultan asks through Ibrahim and Izzet how it would be with the citizenship of those Jews who in one form or another would immigrate to Turkey.

"They can come to us," said Izzet Bey, in his barbarous French, "but they must become Turkish subjects. For instance, if you buy up the bonds of the Public Debt, the buyers must be subjects of His Imperial Majesty. The same is true of those who come as colonists. They must not only become Turkish subjects, but must renounce their previous citizenship, and get a statement from their previous governments testifying to their withdrawal from that citizenship."

"And they must accept military service," said Ibrahim, "if His Majesty calls them to the colors."

"Under those conditions we could receive the Jews of all the countries," said Izzet, friendly as a hyena.

I thought to myself: "*Eine gute Kränk!*" That would suit Messrs. Izzet and his consorts down to the ground, if I were to bring rich Jews and poor Jews here to be robbed. But this was not the moment to raise objections to a pair of blackguards from whom we could later buy every paragraph in the charter.

I therefore said I was very happy to come under the glorious sceptre of Abdul Hamid, and declared myself ready to discuss the matter in detail.

Vienna, May 28, 1901.

To Ibrahim Bey [in French]:

"Excellency: Permit me to send you a little souvenir of the fine hours which I spent with you during our meeting in your devotion to His Imperial Majesty. It is a little snuff box which I am sending by post.

"The kettle saucers have been ordered and will be sent to you next week.

"In doing me the honor of accepting these trifles, you will show me your kindness, in which I place so much store.

"Yours devotedly,

"Th. Herzl."

(Herzl now sets about the task. He has received from the Ministers of the Sultan an offer for the unification of the debt which he considers quite impossible. His present task, however, is to interest financiers, and to hold the possibility of the loan before the Sultan, in the hope of obtaining the charter. Once the charter is obtained, he believes he will obtain the backing of Jewish financiers to make good his promise to the Sultan.)

Vienna, May 28, 1901.

I went to see the Turkish Ambassador, M. N. Bey, who greeted me with the words: "Congratulations, Effendi."

He was launched at once, and told me all his worries and stupidities. That is a diplomat. Then what am I?

He swore at all his secretaries, who spied on him, calumniated him, and did not work. The first Secretary wrote letters to Constantinople in which he made it appear that the Ambassador was a drunkard who reeled around quite soused all day long and could not stand on his four legs. "My *four* legs," the jackass complained.

Then he cursed the situation in Turkey, the mismanagement, the dishonesties. They still owed him four thousand and five hundred pounds of back pay, and he had to pay ten per cent. to the loan sharks. I turned a deaf ear to him. If he makes himself useful some day I shall get him loans for four or five per cent.

(Toward the end of that month Herzl again sees the Grand Duke of Baden. He goes to Paris to push the matter of financing the unification of the Turkish debt, in exchange for the Charter he is hoping for. His understanding with the Turkish authorities is a vague one, and he counts on this fact to help him tide over the long period that must elapse before he can organize the financial end of his combination.)

June 2, in Paris.

I made no specific demands in Constantinople. I only spoke of my efforts. I can therefore say, three weeks later: My Jews are united in principle, but they want to have some assurance in advance—e.g., the Charter!

(Once again Herzl runs up against the wall of indifference to his plans among the rich Jews. He always moves in the same circle of friends.)

London, July 11, 1901.

IN view of the hopelessness of interesting the rich Jews of Paris—or of anywhere else—Marmorek and Nordau have thought of trying to get money from the American Crœsus philanthropist, Carnegie. Nordau believes he can clear the way to him by an introduction through the American Ambassador, Porter. But Porter was not in Paris.

London, June 13, 1901.

"I am awfully dinnered."

On commence à me s'arracher.

Yesterday the Maccabæan dinner passed off as I had thought it would. I said so little that they suspected a great deal.

Society is interested in me. I am a social curiosity, a dish; people come to meet Dr. Herzl.

Yesterday Sir Francis Montefiore was here with several ladies and gentlemen. There were Princess Löwenstein, Lady Jane Taylor, and others whose names I have forgotten. Also Gilbert Farquhar, lord and actor.

I shall use Princess Löwenstein in order to reach the King. For they all invited me. Lady Jane was present as spectator at the last Congress and said her daughters envied her because she was lunching with me.

Only the Jewish Upper Ten don't want to have anything to do with me.

(Herzl maintains a regular correspondence with the Sultan, reporting favorable progress from time to time. He writes:)

June 17, 1901.

"Sir:

"I have the honor to submit before your throne the result of the steps which I have taken so far.

"Following the line which Your Imperial Majesty has been gracious enough to indicate, I have concluded that the most important thing to do is to obtain immediately—that is, before October—one and a half million Turkish pounds, which would replace in a less onerous fashion the difficult if not impossible unification of the Debt.

"The combination which my friends and I have found is the following:

"The 1,500,000 pounds could be obtained by the immediate creation of a new source of revenue. But this source of revenue should be of such a form as to advise the Jews of the high and generous sentiments which Your Imperial Majesty harbors for them. In this fashion we shall prepare the ground for all future operations."

(Herzl then goes on with the outlines of his plan; but the uppermost consideration is the Charter as a condition precedent.)

June 19, 1901.

In the evening I went to the banker Seligman, who promised me to use his good offices with the bigwigs like Montagu, etc., as soon as I should have the Charter. This promise was enough for the time being. Now it is for the Sultan to answer.

Naturally I did not expect that people would give me money on these vague reports of mine. I traveled to London and Paris only that the Sultan might think that I had been in London and Paris. Everything that I wrote him from London I could have told him in Constantinople.

(He writes in the meantime to Vambery, to whom he explains the *modus operandi.*)

"Now how is this thing to be carried through? Before everything he (the Sultan) must give the Charter, and it must be given to the Jewish Colonial Trust for the creation of a Jewish-Ottoman Company for Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria. In order to give the matter a serious financial aspect, the Jewish Colonial Trust could make a deposit of, for example, one million *francs*, as soon as the Charter is handed us; and the money will be forfeited to the Turkish Treasury in case the Company is not formed within a certain period. But I must talk this proposition over first, if a serious guarantee is demanded, for they snatch up even the smallest guarantees over there."

(Herzl is again and ever on the hunt for new possibilities.)

September 23, 1901.

In my chess game there figure at present Cecil Rhodes (whom I am to meet after his return from Scotland), Roosevelt (through Gottheil), the King of England (through the Bishop of Ripon), the Czar (through General von Hesse), etc.

(Nothing happens. Herzl will not budge before he has the Charter. The Sultan apparently will not budge before he gets money—if then. The end of the year comes and Herzl is no further forward. In December the Fifth Congress takes place in Basle. Herzl does not give any description of it until a week later.)

January 5, 1902.

THE Fifth Congress.

The change of the years shows itself most in this: that it is only now, at this late date, that I set down my impressions of the Congress.

From the evening of my arrival on the 25th of December until the moment of my departure on New Year's Eve, one discussion after the other. Sessions from 10 A.M. till 4 A.M. the next morning. In between, loose ends to tie up, insults to smooth over, etc.

On the morning of the first day I sent the telegram to the Sultan and on the evening of the second day I had the answer. I trembled up to the moment I got it. Up till that point he could still deny the beginnings of our relationship. *Mais il donnait dedans en plein.* With this wire, handed to me by the telegraph office of Basle, my position is attested and regulated.

My *Kongressler* did not seem to appreciate the full value of the telegram. They understand nothing. They overrate the trivial, and underrate the important.

But it is enough that I know it.

Of less political value, but of infinitely higher moral value, was the official letter of greeting from the government of Basle.

The gentlemen of the Greater Actions Committee also made things difficult for me in the matter of the *baksheesh* which I have always had Wolffsohn, Kremenetzky, Kokesch, etc., hand out in exchange for a receipt.

Some of them acted as though I had been swindled out of the money. Also the Bank directors did not seem to like the idea of approving the amount we had spent toward getting the charter (Receipt Wolffsohn, N.). They would have done it if I had insisted, but then it would have been considered a "secret" and therefore would have got around quickly. Against this cowardice and stupidity I could do nothing other than throw the whole thing open in the Congress. To this end I used the oppositionist, Farbstein, making his resolution my point of departure.

Naturally everything went through smoothly.

The directors and advisers could not understand the procedure, and they breathed more easily when it was over.

(Zangwill and Cowen are active in London, trying to get together the right men for Herzl. Their latest move is to try and interest Lord Suffields and the financial group. Herzl writes them the details of his plan. In the midst of all these failures and worries the following strange entry occurs.)

January 24, 1902.

Zionism was the Sabbath of my life.

I believe that my influence as a leader is based on the fact that while as man and writer I had so many faults, and committed so many blunders and mistakes, as a leader in Zionism I have remained pure of heart and quite selfless.



THE WIFE OF THEODOR HERZL

It is marvelous how far my thoughts reach out when I awake too early in the morning. Then I solve many of the problems of the present, and glimpse some of the problems of eternity.

This morning I thought about the human body, of which we know so little. Doctors have the professional blindness of dulled experts.

What a marvelous machine it is, the human body. A chemical laboratory, a power-house. Every movement, voluntary or involuntary, full of secrets and marvels. What gases and liquids are produced in it, harmful and useful. That is why I believe in the serum theory. Just as it produces poisons, so the body of the animal also produces antidotes, which as time progresses will certainly be discovered.

(Early in February Herzl is called to Constantinople by Ibrahim Bey, in order to give him the details of the situation. The call comes at a bad time for Herzl. Frau Herzl is sick, the *Neue Freie Presse* will perhaps object to his going, there is no money, etc., etc.)

February 8, 1902.

With my head filled with these worries, with my wife sick, I had to write, yesterday, a feuilleton on Japanese players. It reminds me of the time when I was writing the *Judenstaat* in Paris, and then from that had to go to the Chamber in order to report a session which was justly forgotten the next day.

And my feuilleton is even a good one.

VOLUME TEN

(February 15th Herzl is in Constantinople for the fourth time—first with Newlinsky, then with the delegation to see the Kaiser, then to meet the Sultan, now to report to Ibrahim Bey. The negotiations are long and dull. One passage only is quoted below, in order to illustrate Herzl's stand in the matter of the Charter and immigration. The conversation is with Ibrahim Bey, Izzet Bey and others.)

"WE are not concerned," I said, "with individual protection. We get that anyway in all civilized countries. It is national protection that we must have."

What did I understand under that, Their Excellencies asked.

I explained: a great manifestation in our favor, such as invitation to immigration *without any restriction.*

Thereupon Izzet went with my letter to the Sultan.

In the waiting-room Ibrahim Bey and Ghalib spoke enthusiastically of the happy situation which would exist in the future: how it would be if the Jews were to come. They dreamed aloud of the uplifting of agriculture and industry, of banks which would not serve strangers, etc.

But then Izzet came back with the decision of the Sultan, and it was not favorable. The Sultan would open his empire to all Jews who wish to become Turkish subjects, but the regions to be settled were to be decided from instance to instance, and Palestine was not to be included. The Company could colonize in Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia, but not in Palestine.

A Charter without Palestine! I refused at once.

Ibrahim remarked: "The two offers are very far from each other."

Izzet said: "What would you have? Life is like that. At first you are a thousand miles apart, and then you finish up by agreeing."

I said: "I am afraid not. I shall sleep on this; I shall think it over till to-morrow. But I am afraid I shall find no solution."

(This is the situation when Herzl leaves Constantinople. He writes regretfully to the Sultan, repeating the old offer in a slightly changed form. He sends the Sultan two gifts: one of his books—a collection of philosophic stories—and a typewriter in Turkish Arabic characters. And he hopes for a change in the situation. On the return journey he describes in more detail the negotiations. The following was one of the last incidents.)

While I was writing somebody came from the Sultan, bringing me two hundred pounds for my expenses on this journey.

I shrugged my shoulders with the proper regard and, smiling, asked the gentlemen:

"Would I be permitted to offer this to some charitable institution?"

"Accept, and sign, first," said Izzet with a treacherous smile. "Then you can do with the money what you please."

I wrote out the receipt:

"Received, from the Imperial Treasury, for expenses, two hundred pounds. Dr. Th. H."

While I was making a clean copy of the protocol I was wondering whether I ought to leave the money with Their Excellencies, to distribute among the poor—that is to say, make a gift of it to them, which they

R. P.

Vanoppen Rotterdam

Von Remington company würde für mich vierten Februar mit dampfer Statendam von Newyork Schreibmaschine abgeschickt. Bitte dieselbe express heute hierhersenden.

Dr Herzl Wien
Türkenstrasse 9

HERZL ORDERS AN ARABIC TYPEWRITER FROM NEW YORK AS A GIFT TO THE SULTAN

certainly would not have refused—or whether to keep it for our unfortunate Actions Committee treasury. I decided for the latter, chiefly for the reason that while my receipt of the two hundred pounds from the civil list would remain there, there would not be the proof that I had immediately returned the money.

The idea of keeping these five thousand *francs*, which are mine by right, inasmuch as they were an honorarium for my efforts, never once occurred to me.

Many hands, palms turned upward, were stretched out to me before I reached the palace gates. Since we are in Wonderland, as I so frequently explain to my good Joe [Cowen], I must also send down a rain of gold-pieces wherever I come, like an Oriental monarch.

I believe that my reputation for generosity grows through these small *baksheeshes* in the overheated atmosphere of this Wonderland. A sort of gold intoxication must pass through the Yildiz at my appearance. For this rain of gold is seen by many eyes, and most of these eyes belong to spies.

(Herzl leaves Constantinople with new plans—variations of the old—stirring in his mind. He keeps up the correspondence with Vambery, to whom he unfolds his ideas.)

February 21, 1902.

A wire from Greenberg this evening: certain London papers have published articles with the statement that I have obtained the Charter.

(Others, too, thought that Herzl was on the threshold of success.)

March 4, 1902.

C. reports that Babbington Smith, as President of the Commission for the Public Debt, has protested against any conversion which is attempted without first advising the commission.

Tellement on me prend au sérieux.

(Still in touch with Constantinople, Herzl puts forth his new plan to Izzet Bey. He will deposit three sums of one million *francs* each in three banks, as guarantee pending the granting of the Charter.)

March 11, 1902.

Vambery told me on Sunday how the Sultan once got rid of a Minister. I have forgotten the name of the man. I believe it was a minister of education. The said Minister came with the Grand Vizier to interview the Sultan. At first the Grand Vizier held forth. Then it was the Minister's turn. He stepped forth and put his hand up to his breast to get his papers out. Whereupon the Sultan shouted loudly for help: "He wants to murder me—he is drawing a revolver."

From every side they threw themselves on the dazed minister, and they found a revolver in his breast pocket, where there had not been one before.

Naturally the man was immediately executed.

And it is with this ruler that I must negotiate.

(The negotiations with Turkey continue till the end of the *Diaries*. The manner of them, the chief characters—as well as the effective result—has already been indicated by excerpts. Procrastination, jockeying, *baksheesh*, etc., etc. It will therefore serve no purpose to quote further. The reader must, however, bear in mind that though Turkey no longer figures in the latter part of this summary, Herzl never dismissed that country from his mind, but always continued negotiations, now more easily, now more urgently.)

VOLUME ELEVEN

(On June 4, 1902, Herzl notes the receipt of an invitation from the Royal Commission for Alien Immigration, of the British Government, to appear as witness before it. He considers this rightly as an event of importance. Subsequent developments lead to the English offers of El Arish and Uganda.)

June 9, 1902.

WHAT I need now is the condensation of my organization—the liquefaction of this gaseous quantity which is called the Zionist movement.

To that end I shall pursue the following paths:

1. By my evidence before the Royal Commission I shall make clear to the Government that it is on the horns of a dilemma: one horn is the abandonment of the glorious principle of asylum, the other the lack of protection of home labor. My way out—if they ask



HIS FATHER'S GOLDEN BOOK INSCRIPTION SIGNED BY HERZL AS PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL FUND

for it—would be the founding of the Chartered Company for Cyprus.

At the same time I shall make a semi-official attempt to get in touch with Lord R. He is in a furious rage against me—perhaps this is the psychological moment for the conclusion of peace. When he was asked in the Commission why he was opposed to calling me, he said that I was a demagogue, a windbag.

2. I shall try to build up a mining concern for the exploitation of the Turkish Mines.

London, the night of the ninth to the tenth of June, 1902.

WHEN I returned to the hotel from the theatre I found this wire from my wife:

"Papa very sick. Come Vienna at once."

It is death. I saw that immediately.

Two hours were taken up with getting train information, packing. The rest of the night will be harder to pass.

This book must record it. I believe that toward my good father, who did so much for me, I have always been a faithful, grateful and respectful son.

How much he went through with me! How he sustained me, comforted me, after he had educated and kept me for so long.

The journeys, on which I learned so much, I owe to him.

And now I am not at home when he closes his eyes.

What an enduring help he was to me, what a counselor.

Like a tree, he stood by me. Now the tree is gone.

June 10th, Hans' birthday.

On the boat between Dover and Calais.

Before I left London I got the following wire from the doctor: "Father departed suddenly in painless attack."

Secretly I had a glimmer of hope that it was only pneumonia.

I believe that when an arm is shot away, the loss is not noticed at first; then it hurts horribly—and then one forgets.

June 11th, on the train to Vienna.

Soon I shall be in Vienna, where I shall have the pleasure of burying my father. Wolffsohn wanted to get in at Cologne and come with me. I did not let him. He cannot help me.

I have also come to a decision. If my mother wants it, I shall settle in London. For what have I now in Vienna?

Alt-Aussee, June 20, 1902.

Everything passes away. I sit again at my writing-desk of last summer, and of my father I have nothing more than his picture, which stands before me. He has gone completely out of my life. There is only this picture to tell me how he looked whom I shal never see again.

(On July 5th Herzl is again in London, where, by invitation, h at last meets Rothschild. The latter is anxious to censor in advanc the evidence which Herzl will give before the Royal Commission.)

IN England, said Rothschild, there will never be any anti-Semitism, etc. In France, too, it was something else, etc.

He does not believe in Zionism.

We should never get Palestine, etc. He is an Englishman and wants to remain one. He "desires" me to say this and that to the Alien Commission, and not to say this and the other.

At this point the business became too stupid for me. I had interrupted him a couple of times. But now I began to overshout him in such a way that he was dazed and kept his mouth shut.

"I shall tell the Commission what I think proper and the truth as I see it. That is my habit, and I shall cling to it now, too."

It was false, I said, that the Powers were against our going to Palestine. I have influenced Germany and Russia in our favor. England, I thought, would have nothing against it. I was *persona grata* with the Sultan.

"Yes," he threw in, "the Sultan is naturally friendly to you, because you are Dr. Herzl of the *Neue Freie Presse.*"

"It is false," I cried. "The *Neue Freie Presse* has nothing to do with it. The publishers are deadly enemies of my plan. The word Zionism has not been printed in that paper until this day. I never had anything to do with the Sultan in connection with the *Neue Freie Presse.*"

He said further that Arnold White and Gordon had called me as a Crown Witness in order that I should support them and they could say: "Dr. Herzl is certainly the best of Jews, and he states that a Jew can never become an Englishman."

"It would be stupid and arrogant of me," I said, "to read the Commission a lecture on the characteristics of the real Englishman. I shall simply say what terrible misery there is in the East, and that these people must either get away or perish. The need in Rumania has been known to us since 1897; the Congress petition received no attention In Galicia it is perhaps even worse. There are seven hundred thousand people there in misery. They will also begin to move."

My Lord said: "I hope you are not going to say that to the Commission. Or else we shall have restrictions."

At this point I became massive: "Certainly I shall say it. You can count on that."

Whereupon his jaw dropped, he rang, and called his brother Leopold.

To him he repeated what had been said, and added that in my opinion Jewish charity had merely become a machine for the suppression of the cry of misery.

My Lord wailed: "And that is what he wants to tell the Commission."

We went into the dining-room, where I met Lord Roseberry's son and later Alfred, the third Rothschild, a true spiritual child of his father.

Later, in My Lord's study, Alfred told me of his very high Austrian and Russian orders. "Great, what? *Kronenorden*, first class." The same Alfred asked me what I wanted to do for the Jews. Colonization? Good. But why in Palestine? It sounded so Jewish.

After the coffee I went over to the writing-desk and asked him:

"Would you like to hear my scheme now?"

"Yes."

I shoved my chair closer to his better ear and said: "I want to get a Charter for Colonization from the English Government."

"Don't say Charter. The word doesn't sound so good now."

"Call it what you like. I want to found a Jewish colony in British territory."

"Take Uganda."

"No. I can use only this—" And as there were several others in the room I wrote on a piece of paper: "Sinai Peninsula, Egyptian Palestine. Cyprus." And I added: "Are you for it?"

He reflected, grinning, and answered: "Very much."

That was victory! I then added on the piece of paper: "Stop the Sultan from getting money."

He answered: "I prevented Rumania from getting money. But here I can do nothing, as the great powers want it. They want to have the railway built."

I said: "The Sultan offered me Mesopotamia."

He, astounded: "And you refused?"

"Yes."

(Herzl now enters on the last great incidents of his career—the British offers, the split in the Zionist Organization. From now on the *Diaries* can easily be condensed, as they contain dry technical procedure and large quantities of correspondence. It is impossible to give these proceedings in full.)

July 16, 1902.

Yesterday a letter from Rothschild, interesting in spite of its intent. There is not enough money, he said, to do the thing on a big scale. And in general he wants to study the whole thing first. He wants to go more closely into the Sinai idea, etc. Piffle.



HERZL WITH HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS AFTER HIS FATHER'S DEATH

Left to right: Herzl, Frau Julie Herzl, Frau Jeanette Herzl (his mother), Mrs. Joseph Cowen, Joseph Cowen, Prof. Mandelstamm (standing), Sascha Mandelstamm, and Frau Wolffsohn

VOLUME TWELVE

(In July, 1902, Herzl is called again to Constantinople. The old story of interminable negotiations is repeated. The *Diaries* are growing more objectively historical, less the reflection of Herzl's inner thoughts: they are a record of conversations, letters, plans, etc. Herzl's hopes are in England, though he is compelled to stay for some time in Constantinople.)

August 5, 1902.

IF I can do nothing with Chamberlain, I shall try Italy.

Ehrenpreis, the Rabbi of Sofia, told me, while he traveled part of the way with me, that when the King of Italy was in Sofia he asked the then Italian Attaché, Polacco, about our movement. Naturally the Jew Polacco knew less than the King.

VOLUME THIRTEEN

October 23, 1902.

SPOKE yesterday with the famous ruler of England, Joe Chamberlain. An hour. I explained everything that I wanted to do. And he listened well. Unfortunately my voice shook at the beginning, which made me angry while I was speaking.

In a few minutes it was going better, and I spoke calmly and pressingly, as well as my muddled English permitted me to.



FIRST NORDAU STAMP OF THE NATIONAL FUND

I laid the entire Jewish question before the immo bile mask which is Joe Chamberlain. My relation to Turkey, etc.

"I am in negotiation with the Sultan," I said in English. "But you know what Turkish negotiation are. If you want to buy a carpet, first you must drink half a dozen cups of coffee and smoke a hundred cigarettes. Then you discuss family stories, and from time to time you speak a few words again about the carpet. Now I have time to negotiate, but my people have not. They are starving in the Pale. I must bring them immediate help." And so on.

The mask smiled at the carpet story.

I then passed on to the subject of the territory which I wanted from England.

(By the time he has left England, on October 27th, Herzl has also seen Lord Landsdowne and others, and is in good hopes of getting a favorable offer from England. He returns to Vienna, where he feels his sickness coming over him again. But he cannot let up now as the negotiations in England, which are being conducted by Cowen and Greenberg, are very promising, and the expedition to El Arish is in the air. January 15, 1903, Herzl is again in London and sees Lord Rothschild, Sir Thomas Sanderson, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Baker and Stephens, engineers (the latter accompanies the Commission to El Arish). During the latter part of January Herzl is putting together the expedition which will go to El Arish to report on the possibilities of colonization. By the 21st the expedition is ready. But the old troubles haunt Herzl. Every now and again occurs a despairing observation: "To-day had to write a feuilleton for the *Neue Freie Presse*." On January 26th Herzl learns of a second act of treachery on the part of the *Neue Freie Presse* (the first was the attack on the Sultan—while Herzl was negotiating with him)—a violent attack on Joseph Chamberlain, now Herzl's main hope. Herzl offers to Chamberlain to resign from the paper, but his offer is not taken up. On March 3rd Herzl notes that Katzenelsohn considers an audience with the Czar now possible. But on March 22nd Herzl is already on his way to Cairo, to receive the report of the expedition, and to enter on the final negotiations. Here follow days of uncertainty, interchange of views, offers and counter-offers. On April 15th Herzl is back in Vienna, with the outcome not decided.)

I set my hopes on Chamberlain, whom I shall see next week. He stands at a distance from the whole business, sees it from a higher point—and does not know the value of the big stretch of land for which I am asking.

(Toward the end of April, 1903, Herzl is in London, where he again speaks with Chamberlain, and with Lord Landsdowne. He is in Vienna on March 8th when he gets the telegram from Goldsmid which tells him that the whole plan has fallen through.)

May 8, 1903.

From Goldsmid, in Cairo:

"In the absence of water Pelusium Plain Cromer considers our application for concession success very doubtful Egyptian minister's reply expected about beginning of next week with regard to Chamberlain wait my letter of May 6th May 8th."

Vienna, May 13, 1903.

Letter from Goldsmid, under date May 6th. The explanation: "Sir William Garstein declares that we would need five times as much water as Stephens put down; also the laying down of the syphon would interfere for several weeks with the traffic of the Suez Canal."

(It is at this point that the incredible will power of Herzl shows self more clearly than anywhere else in the *Diaries*. No sooner oes he receive the news that this, the most hopeful of all his ans, has fallen through, than—within a few hours—he is already aking new combinations. The degree of certainty with which e counted on the success of the El Arish plan is revealed by the ollowing:)

VOLUME SIXTEEN

May 16, 1903.

I CONSIDERED the Sinai matter so completely ready, that I would no longer buy a family vault in the *Döblinger* cemetery, where my father rests rovisionally. Now I consider the matter so comletely smashed, that I have already chosen the amily vault.

(The Russian episode now intervenes, and it is in Russia that erzl receives the news of the English offer of Uganda. His original ope of seeing the Czar is disappointed, but he has conversations ith Count Witte, Count von Plehve and others. The Russian ip is taken against the advice of several members of the Actions ommittee. The rift between Herzl and these members (chiefly e Russians) widens as the Uganda question comes to the fore. e reports the following in the *Diaries*, shortly before he leaves r Russia.)

Vienna, June 11, 1903.

I called a meeting of the Actions Committee in y house, and laid before them my new Portuguese frican Plan. Kokesch raised his eyebrows and eclared sharply against it. Kahn was for it. Kreenetzky saw the correctness of my explanation—amely, that we could ask for Palestine with more rength, and more pressure, if we had a publicly cured, legally assured place to gather in. Marorek accepted my view only to the extent that meant the creation of something which could be xchanged for Palestine.

VOLUME SEVENTEEN

(In August of 1903 Herzl is in Russia. On the eighth he meets ith von Plehve. On the ninth he sees Witte. The views of the tter give some indication of the attitude of the government toward e Jewish question, and the hopelessness of obtaining help from e Russian government.)

"THERE are some prejudices," said Witte, "which are honest and some which are dishonest."

The prejudices of the Czar against the Jews, he said, ere honest ones—they were chiefly of a religious aracter.

(Witte goes on to speak of the revolutionary tendencies of the ws, complaining that though they are only 7,000,000 in a total pulation of 135,000,000, they form fifty per cent. of the revolunary forces in the country.)

"To what circumstances does your Excellency cribe this situation?"

"I believe the fault is with our government. I ed to say to the late Emperor, Alexander III: 'our Majesty, if it were possible to sink the six or ven million Jews in the Black Sea, I should be tirely in favor of it. But since it is not possible, ey must be allowed to live.' That is still my point view. I am against further oppressive measures."

(The best that Herzl can hope for is to get some sort of legitimization of Zionism in Russia, if he will trade the influence of the Zionist Congress for it. The Russian authorities wish him to suppress anti-Russian manifestations at the Congress—following the pogroms of 1903—. Herzl sees the impossibility of this. Meanwhile the Sixth Congress draws near, and the Uganda fight is on. Herzl's report of the Sixth Congress in the *Diaries* is brief. It follows almost in full.)

August 31, 1903.

THE great, heavy Sixth Congress is over.

When, exhausted, I returned after the closing session, with my friends Zangwill, Nordau and Cowen, to Cowen's room, to sit down round a bottle of mineral water, I said to them:

"I will tell you now what my speech is going to be to the Seventh Congress, if I live till then.

"By then I shall either have Palestine, or shall have convinced myself of the absolute hopelessness of all further effort.

"In the latter case my speech will be as follows: 'It was not possible. Our final objective has not been reached. But an intermediary objective is possible: this land on which we can settle our suffering masses, with a national basis and self-government. I do not believe that for the sake of a beautiful dream or a legitimist flag we ought to withhold this relief from these unfortunate ones.



FIRST HERZL STAMP OF THE NATIONAL FUND

" 'But I understand that with this situation a decisive split has entered our movement, and this split passes through my person. Although in the beginning I thought only of a Jewish State—no matter where—I later raised the flag of Zion, and I myself became a "lover of Zion." Palestine is the only land where our people can achieve tranquility. But immediate help must be given to hundreds of thousands.

" 'In order to heal this split there is only one thing to be done: I must withdraw from the leadership. If you desire it, I shall still guide the discussions of this Congress, and at the end you can choose two Actions Committees, one for East Africa and one for Palestine. I shall not permit myself to be elected to either. But I shall never refuse my advice to those who take up the work—if they ask me for it. And to those who stand by their beautiful dream I shall give my best wishes.

" 'By that which I have done, I have not made Zionism poorer, but Jewry richer.

" 'Adieu.' "

VOLUME EIGHTEEN

(The last months of Herzl's life are taken up with three-fold negotiations: England, Russia and the ICA. The revolt of the Russians under the leadership of Ussishkin embitters him, and he is determined to fight them to a finish, chiefly by stirring up the Russian Jewish masses against them. But the tempo of his work begins to die down. He is hoping to get Russian support for his demands on Turkey for Palestine. His last important journey is to Rome, in January, 1904, where he sees the Pope, but whence—he believes because he refused to kiss the Pope's hand—he returns without a favorable statement. On January 23rd, before this, he has had an audience with the King of Italy, and has asked for his intervention with Turkey, reading him an encouraging letter from Plehve. On January 27th he receives a wire from Greenberg that he has obtained the Charter for East Africa. February 9th a second wire:)

"EVENTS in House (Parliament) last night render collapse of Government very probable within next few days. Do please authorize me to accept at once for you Foreign Office's offer subject to approval of terms of Charter and report of Commission and to say you will arrange for Commission to start forthwith. Otherwise fear we shall lose all."



HERZL AND KATZENELSOHN IN ST. PETERSBURG

I reply: "You may accept Foreign Office off[er] subject to approval terms of Charter and report [of] Commission. But I give you this authorization onl[y] on condition that nothing will be published upo[n] the matter before we approve Charter terms. Plea[se] wire me this promise. Benjamin."

(In his last months Herzl was in touch with statesmen of Englan[d,] Russia, Turkey and Italy. His last new approach to the subje[ct] was a letter to Jacob Schiff, written March 30th. The entries in t[he] *Diaries* are now very scattered. The last letter entered is the seco[nd] one to Schiff, May 16, 1904.)

"Dear Mr. Schiff:

"My friend, Dr. Katzenelsohn, came here fro[m] London, and reported that you had received him i[n] the friendliest fashion. Please permit me to off[er] you my warmest thanks. Dr. K. also told me th[at] he had given you a copy of my confidential instru[c]tions, since I rely absolutely on your discretion.

"The matter is secret and must so remain, abo[ve] all to the gentlemen of the ICA. From them I ca[n] expect anything rather than readiness to co-operat[e]. Certainly there are among the directors of the IC[A] excellent people; but as a group they have alwa[ys] shown themselves hostile whenever a really gre[at] action for a really great need was touched on.

"I do not know why these gentlemen are ready [to] use up the money of Bar[on] de Hirsch in small-chan[ge] enterprises which repr[e]sent everything rath[er] than Jewish colonizatio[n]. Were it not for the fa[ct] that our masses are pe[r]ishing in filth and mise[ry] while this means of he[lp] goes unused, it would [be] possible to write humo[r]ous observations on th[e] subject. For instance, th[e] greatest enemy of a test[a]ment is its executor. O[f] the relatives of Baron [de] Hirsch at least have th[e] satisfaction, that the po[or] Jews, too, get nothing o[ut] of the money.

"However, I shall n[ot] permit the ICA and i[ts] mistakes to occupy m[e] long. These gentleme[n] will come running aft[er] us until we no longer ne[ed] them.

"You will know th[e] general trend of my ide[as] through Dr. K. and m[y] letter."

(Here the *Diaries* break off. (Herzl died July 3, 1904.)



קבר הרצל בוינה



HERZL'S STUDY AS RECONSTRUCTED IN JERUSALEM

At bottom right is a photograph of the illuminated address presented to Herzl in 1901 by the Zionists of Argentina

Experiences and Moods

An Autobiographic Sketch

By THEODOR HERZL

The following autobiographic notes were written by Theodor Herzl shortly after the First Congress. The light touch of irony which runs through them, covering but not masking a deep earnestness, was characteristic of Herzl the feuilletonist.

I WAS born in the year 1860, in Budapest, close to that synagogue in which the Rabbi recently criticized me with the utmost severity because I wanted—really and truly!—to obtain for the Jews more dignity and freedom than they at present enjoy. But when twenty years will have passed there will be a "To Let" sign on the door of the house in the Tabakgasse where I first saw the light of day.

I cannot deny that I went to school. First I went to a Jewish preparatory school, where I was treated with a certain respect because my father was a well-to-do merchant. My first memories of this school center round the thrashings which I got because I did not know all the details of the exodus of the Jews from Egypt. To-day there are many school-masters who would like to thrash me because I remember it too well. At the age of ten I went to the *Realschule*, where, in contrast to the *Gymnasium*, which specializes in the classics, the main emphasis is laid on modern studies. At that time de Lesseps was the hero of the day, and I completed a plan for the cutting through of that other Isthmus—the Panama. But I soon lost my first love for logarithms and trigonometry, for at that time there reigned in the *Realschule* an outspoken anti-Semitic tendency. One of our teachers used to define the word heathen with the following classification: "Among them are idolators, Mohammedans and Jews." After this extraordinary explanation I had enough of the *Realschule* and wanted instead to go to a classic institution. My good father never kept me to a hard and fast program of studies, and so I became a student at a *Gymnasium*. Nevertheless I did not give my Panama plan up altogether. Many years later, as the Paris correspondent of the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, I had a great deal to report to my paper concerning the unsavory incidents which accompanied this scandalous epsiode in modern French history.



THE TABLE ON WHICH HERZL WROTE THE "JUDENSTAAT"

THE Jews were in the majority at the Evangelical *Gymnasium*, and for that reason I found too little to complain of in the way of Jew-baiting. When I was in the seventh class I wrote my first newspaper article—anonymously, of course, or else I should have been kept in. While I was still a student in the higher classes of the *Gymnasium*, my only sister, a girl of eighteen, died. My mother fell into such depression that in 1878 we moved to Vienna.

During the week of mourning Rabbi Kohn visited us, and asked me what my plans for the future were. I told him that I wanted to become a writer, whereupon the Rabbi shook his head with the same disapproval as he did years later over my Zionism. A writer's career is really no sort of profession, the dissatisfied Rabbi concluded.

In Vienna I studied law, took part in all the crazy student tricks and wore the colored cap of a student *Verbindung* until one day the society decided to cease admitting Jews as members. Such Jews as were already members received generous permission to remain. I said farewell to my noble young colleagues and sat down seriously to my work. In 1884 I graduated as Doctor of Laws and took a post as unpaid official under the guidance of a judge. I found employment in the courts in Vienna and Salzburg. The work in Salzburg seemed to be more attractive: the scenery around that city is known for its beauty. My law office was in an old tower in the

castle, right under the clock, and three times daily the bells rang pleasantly in my ears.

NATURALLY I wrote more plays than briefs. In Salzburg I spent some of the happiest hours of my life. And I would gladly have remained in the beautiful city; but as a Jew I would never have received an appointment as judge. And for that reason I said farewell simultaneously to Salzburg and to legal learning.

I WAS again destined to distress profoundly the Rabbi of Budapest; for instead of looking around for a real profession or a real job I began to travel and to write for the theatre and for newspapers. Many of my pieces were accepted and played in various theatres, some with more and some with less applause. Until this day I fail to understand why some of my pieces were received with applause while others were hissed. But the difference in the receptions accorded to my pieces taught me one thing—to pay no attention whether the public applauded or hissed. The conscience must be satisfied; nothing else matters. To-day I have no use for any of my dramas—even those which are still produced successfully at the Imperial *Burgtheater*, and I am no longer interested in them.


Königl. Deutsches Landestheater.

Sonntag, den 12. Februar 1888. 63. Abonn.-Vorst. 3. Serie.

Zum ersten Male:

Seine Hoheit

Lustspiel in drei Acten von Theodor Herzl.

Anfang um 7 Uhr. Ende gegen 9½ Uhr.

Preise der Plätze:

Billboard Announcing First Performance of a Comedy

In 1889 I married. I now have three children, a boy and two girls. In my opinion my children are neither bad-looking nor stupid. But of course I may be mistaken.

During my travels in Spain, in 1891, the Vienna newspaper *Die Neue Freie Presse* offered me the position of its foreign correspondent in Paris. I accepted, even though up to that time I had despised and avoided politics. In Paris I had an opportunity to learn what it is that the world understands in the word politics, and I expressed my own opinion in a little book, *Das Palais Bourbon*. In 1895 I had had enough of Paris and returned to Vienna.

DURING the last two months of my stay in Paris I wrote the book *Der Judenstaat*. I cannot remember ever having written anything in such a mood of exaltation. Heine tells us that he heard the flapping of eagles' wings above his head when he wrote certain stanzas. I too seemed to hear the flutter of wings above my head while I wrote *Der Judenstaat*. I worked at it daily, until I was completely exhausted. My one recreation was on the evenings when I could go to hear Wagner's music and particularly *Tannhäuser*, an opera which I go to hear as often as it is produced. And only on those evenings when there was no opera did I have any doubts as to the truth of my ideas.

My first idea was to let this little essay on the solution of the Jewish question circulate privately among my friends. It was only later that I thought of publishing it; it was not my intention to begin a personal agitation on the Jewish question. The majority of my readers will be astounded to learn of this reluctance on my part. The whole matter seemed to me to be one in which action had to be taken, but in which discussion was impossible. An open agitation was reserved as a last recourse, only when my private advice was ignored or repudiated.

When I had completed the book I asked my oldest and best friend to read the manuscript. In the midst of the reading he suddenly burst into tears. I found this natural enough, since he was a Jew; I too had wept at times during the writing of it. But I was staggered when he gave me an entirely different reason for his tears. He thought that I had gone off my head and since he was my friend he was touched to tears by my misfortune. He ran off without saying another word. After a sleepless night he returned, and pressed me hard to leave the entire business alone for every one would take me for a lunatic. He was so excited that I promised him anything, in order to soothe him. Then he besought me to ask Max Nordau whether this plan of mine could possibly have entered the mind of any man still capable of making calculations. "I shall not ask anybody," I said. "If this is the impression my ideas make on an educated and faithful friend, I shall give them up."

It was thus that I went through my first crisis; the only comparison I can find for it is the plunging of a red-hot body into a basin of cold water. It is true, however, that if the body is iron, it becomes steel.

My friend, of whom I have written above, had to cast up my expenses for telegraphic messages. When he handed me the account, which was made up of

great number of items, I saw at a single glance that he had miscalculated. I drew his attention to the error, and he added up the total a second time; but it was only at the third or fourth attempt that his figures agreed with mine. This little incident returned to me my self-confidence. If it was a matter of calculation, I seemed to be capable of greater accuracy than he. My reason, then, had not left me entirely.

On that day began my restlessness concerning the Jewish State. During the two years and more that have passed since then, I have lived through many sorrowful days, and I fear that other days, even more sorrowful, are still in reserve for me. In 1895 I began to keep a diary, and by now four thick volumes are already filled. If I were to publish these volumes the world would be astounded at what efforts I had to put into this work, to know who were the enemies of my plans, and who were the men that stood by me.

But one thing I regard as certain, and placed beyond the reach of all doubt: the movement will endure. I do not know when I shall die, but Zionism will never die. Since those days in Basle the Jewish people has a national representation once again; as a result the Jewish State will once more rise in its own country. I am at present engaged on the task of creating the Bank, and I expect it to be at least as great a success as the Congress was.

What Herzl Thought of East Africa*

Dear Sir Francis:

You have expressed to me in your letter to hand a desire that I should give you some information in respect to the East African project.

Let me, however, first of all, make my position clear. Ever since the last Congress the wildest statements have been freely indulged in, attaching to me a desire to divert our movement away from the Holy Land, and to direct it to East Africa. Nothing could be further from the truth. As I said at the last Congress, I am a Zionist convinced that the settlement of our people's question can only be effected in that country, Palestine, with which are indelibly associated the historic and sentimental bias of its national existence. No place on earth could therefore, in my mind, supplant or take the place which Palestine holds as the object for which we are striving.

But the British Government having, in terms of singular generosity and consideration, proposed to us the offer of an autonomous settlement, it was surely not possible in reason to do otherwise than extend to such offer our most careful thought.

To my mind four elements were necessary for our deeming within the range of practical politics the suggestion of the British Government:

1. The territory had to be sufficiently extensive to admit of an immigration of such a character as should be eventually a material relief to the pressure which to-day exists in Eastern Jewry.

2. It follows that the territory had to be one which was colonizable by such people as ours.

3. The concession had to be invested with such autonomous rights as should have ensured the Jewish character of the settlement; and

4. Perhaps governing all—the enthusiasm of our own people in respect to the offer had to be of such a nature as to overcome all the obvious difficulties which even under most favorable conditions would be bound to arise in the creation of the settlement.

It must be quite clear, as you point out, that the fourth condition has been, to some extent, absent. But I am neither surprised nor do I complain. My connection with our great movement has not left me unconscious of the deep and abiding love which animates our people for Palestine. While it was my duty to submit to our movement the British suggestion of a refuge—while, in view of Kishineff, I surely should not have been justified in excluding from our people all chance of accepting the suggestion—it is with no small satisfaction that I note that the strongest opposition to the scheme, the strongest note urging me to keep our minds steadily fixed upon Palestine only, comes exactly from those very people whose eyes have seen the horrors of Jewish massacre, and in whose ears there must constantly sound the dread tones of impending disaster always possible.

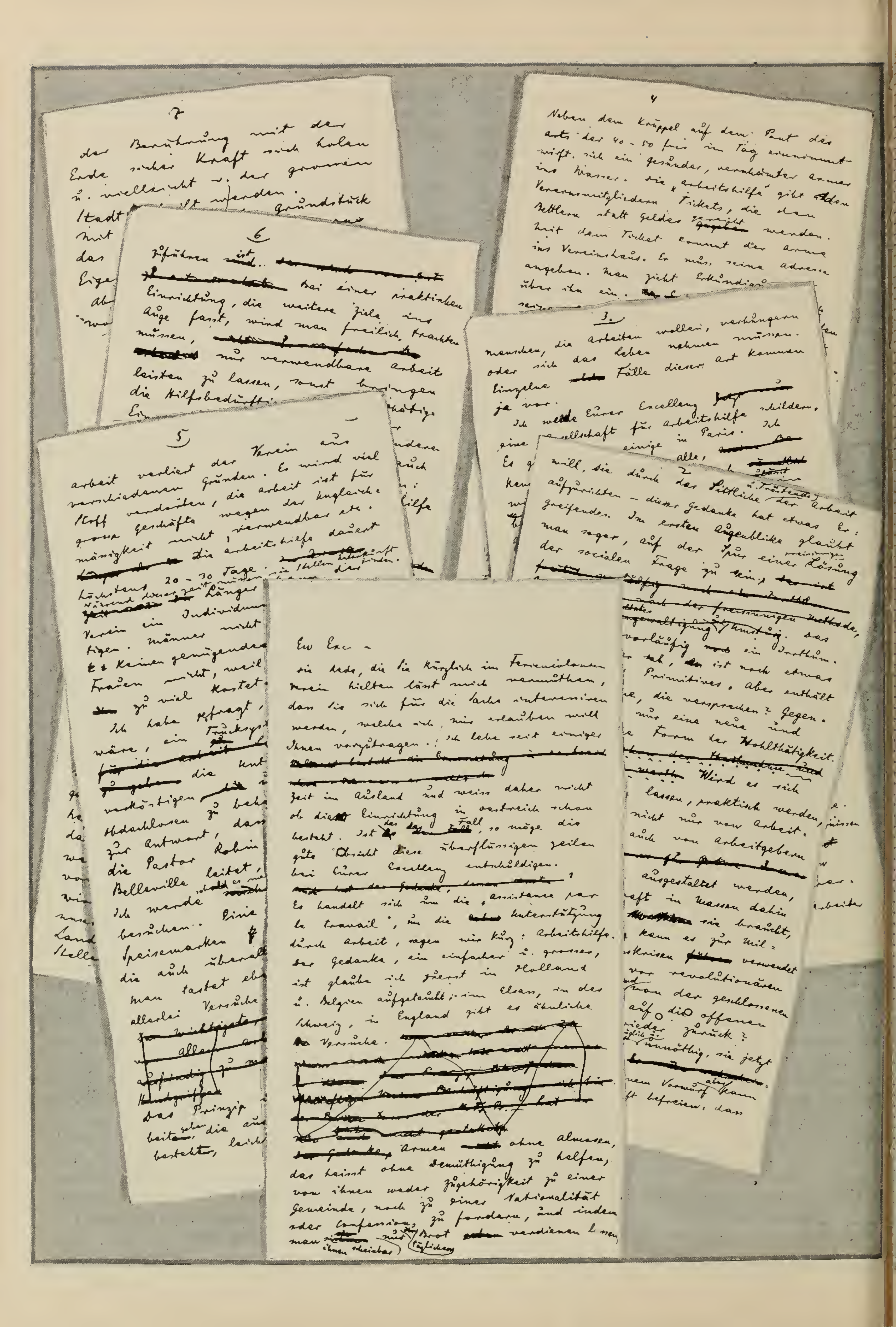
Whatever may come of the East Africa proposals, no Jew will ever be unmindful of the splendid service to our cause, at the dictates of humanity, of the British Government. Great Britain has long been a pattern to the world in her treatment of her Jewish subjects throughout her vast Empire. The letter which Sir Clement Hill addressed to Mr. Greenberg to be communicated to the last Congress was additional evidence of the spirit of toleration and freedom which animates the bulk and body of the British people. That the letter at the same time recognized the Zionist movement as the organized representative of Jewry was a satisfaction for us of which every Zionist may well be proud. To have gained such recognition after only seven years' work in the teeth of such opposition as that against which we have had to contend may give us good heart in the work we have begun so well, and may well inspire us with added confidence that, providing our energies do not slacken in the labor we have undertaken, we shall see our best hopes realized in their ultimate success.

I am, dear Sir Francis, with Zion's greetings,

Faithfully yours,

Theodor Herzl.

The above is a letter addressed to Sir Francis Montefiore, then President of the English Zionist Federation, written Dec. 14, 1903, and explaining Herzl's position on Uganda.



4

Neben dem Krüppel auf dem Pont des arts der 40–50 frs im Tag einnimmt wirft sich ein gesunder, verkommener Armer ins Wasser. Die „Arbeitshilfe" gibt den Vereinsmitgliedern Tickets, die den Bettlern statt Geldes gereicht werden. Mit dem Ticket kommt der Arme ins Vereinshaus. Er muss seine Adresse angeben. Man zieht Erkundigungen über ihn ein.

Ew Exc –

Die Rede, die Sie kürzlich im Ferencsalon hielten lässt mich vermuthen, dass Sie sich für die Sache interessiren werden, welche ich mir erlauben will Ihnen vorzutragen. Ich lebe seit einiger Zeit im Ausland und weiss daher nicht ob diese Einrichtung in Oestreich schon besteht. Ist das der Fall, so möge die gute Absicht diese überflüssigen Zeilen bei Euer Excellenz entschuldigen.

Es handelt sich um die „assistance par le travail", um die Unterstützung durch Arbeit, sagen wir kurz: Arbeitshilfe. Der Gedanke, ein einfacher u. grosser, ist glaube ich zuerst in Holland u. Belgien aufgetaucht; im Elsass, in der Schweiz, in England gibt es ähnliche Versuche.

Armen ohne Almosen, das heisst ohne Demüthigung zu helfen, das heisst ohne Zugehörigkeit zu einer Gemeinde, noch zu einer Nationalität oder Confession, zu fordern, und indem man ihnen scheinbar nur ihr tägliches Brot verdienen lässt,

Herzl On Social Aid

Translation of Letter of 1892 Which Gives Herzl's Early Labor Views

The following is a translation of the facsimiles of a memorandum, appearing on the page opposite, which Herzl addressed to Johann Freiherr von Chlumetzki, then President of the Austrian House of Deputies, in 1892. This memorandum, published for the first time through the courtesy of Moritz Reichenfeld, is of importance for an understanding of the evolution of Herzl's social views. It shows the great interest in social assistance entertained by Herzl even in those early days. Of particular interest is the final passage as to "land purchase and contact with the earth"; these ideas later found expression in "The Jewish State," which at the time of writing had not yet dawned on Herzl's mind. "Assistance par le travail," work-aid, also recurs in "The Jewish State."

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

The address which you recently delivered before the Holiday-Camps Association suggests to me that you may be interested in the matter which I will make so bold as to submit to you. I have for some time past been living abroad and therefore do not know whether the institution already exists in Austria. If it does, then may the good intention palliate, with Your Excellency, these superfluous lines. The matter in question is the *assistance par le travail*, support by labor, briefly expressed: work-aid. The idea, a simple and great one, first sprang up, I believe, in Holland and Belgium; similar efforts exist in Alsace, Switzerland and England.

To help poor people without alms, that is: without humiliation; to demand of them adhesion neither to a community nor to a nationality nor to a creed, and, by appearing merely to desire to let them earn their daily bread, to raise them up by means of what is moral and consoling in work—that thought has something sublime. At the first impact one even fancies that one is on the track of a liberal solution of the social question. At present, however, that would be a mistake. What I have seen so far is as yet but meager and primitive. But does it not contain germs of promise? At present it is but a new and most ingenious form of philanthropy: to that extent, indeed, it is worthy of sympathy and emulation. Is it susceptible of expansion, of practical development, of adaptation to the needs not only of employees but also of employers? Can it be shaped into something big, a conduit for directing labor masses keen to work to the spot where they are wanted; can it be used for mitigating crises of production, for preserving strikes from degenerating into revolution and for conducting labor from the closed workshop on to the open fields, and back? Those are questions which it is impossible and unnecessary to answer at this stage. But there is one reproach from which work-aid can free Society: that human beings anxious for work, should be obliged to starve or commit suicide. For isolated instances of this kind do occur.

I will describe to Your Excellency a Society for Assistance by Work. There are several such in Paris. I do not yet know them all, but shall visit and study them one by one, and as soon as I have a comprehensive picture I shall write about it in the *Neue Freie Presse*, whose correspondent I am here.

The "work-aid" of the districts Batignolles-Monceau was founded in 1891. The object of the society is to cleanse those districts from professional beggary. For the begging industry of Paris is a complex one, organized with wonderful acumen, and very lucrative. But by the side of yonder blind man outside the churchdoor, who lives in brilliant circumstances, there is some unemployed worker who starves. By the side of yonder cripple on the *Pont des Arts*, who earns between 40 and 50 *francs* a day, some sound-limbed, shamefaced pauper throws himself into the river. The "work-aid" issues tickets to members of the Society, which are handed to beggars in lieu of money. The poor man presents himself with the ticket at the Society's offices. He must state his address. Inquiries are made about him. If his statements turn out to be correct he may come again the next day and is given work. If he is without shelter, and his need is urgent, he receives employment at once. We need not further dwell on what the Society does for the poor, though it is greatly deserving of praise—an individualizing philanthropy. The pith of the matter is aid-by-work.

The Society's offices contain large, bright work-rooms, heated in winter, for men and women. The men produce *margotins*, i.e., bundles of chopped wood, the points of the little sticks being dipped in resin. The *margotins* serve for lighting fires. For each bundle, sawed, hacked and tied, the worker receives 3 *centimes*. One man can produce 50 bundles in 5 hours. He thus earns 1 *franc* 50, which suffices for meals and a bed. Women have needle-work, which the married ones are allowed to take home. In the case of women's work, the Society for various reasons often *loses* out. Much material is spoilt, the work cannot be used by large businesses on account of the unequal execution, etc. The work-aid lasts for 20 to 30 days. During that time they have to find jobs and shelter. The Society cannot employ any one individual for a lengthier period; men, because there is no sufficient demand for *margotins;* women, because their work is too expensive.

I have inquired whether it would not be advisable to introduce a truck system, to feed those in receipt of aid and to shelter the homeless. I received the answer that food is being supplied in the "work-aid" conducted by Pastor Robin in the Belleville district. I shall visit that institution as soon as my occupation permits. Elsewhere food-tickets are issued in return for the work, which moreover varies from place to place. The fact is that the system of the *Assistance Publique* is still in the experimental stage. The principle, however, is clear: to give a piece of work consisting of simple manipulations, easily executed by any one. It is true that in the case of practical institutions envisaging more far-reaching aims one will have to endeavor to set only definitely useful tasks: else the charitable institution will be killed by those whom it assists. The nature of the work will have to be different in Vienna or other cities, and also to vary according to the season, nay according to the day. Largely conceived, the aid-by-work can be a central and regulating office of labor power for both employers and employees. The railways will grant facilities to the aid-by-work, and—perhaps it is only a question of how the idea is launched—also completely free traveling. But even leaving aside the mobilization and transfer of labor, there is scope for developing domiciliary labor. I imagine that the whole sphere of penal labor should be included in the scheme. There can be no harm in competing against convicts. Further: establishment of field-workers' colonies. Perhaps one or the other of our millionaires will buy a piece of ground onto which the unemployed are drafted, and where, in contact with the earth, they will assuredly draw strength and be healed of the large city.

In course of time let them acquire ownership of the piece of land which they cultivate.

But I am digressing. This is not what I set out to say.

THEODOR HERZL.

Excerpts from Writings and Addresses of Theodor Herzl

The World Opposes Our Assimilation

FROM times immemorial the world has been misinformed about us. The sentiment of solidarity with which we have been reproached so frequently and so acrimoniously was in process of disintegration when we were attacked by anti-Semitism. And anti-Semitism served to strengthen it anew. We returned home, as it were. For Zionism is a home-coming to the Jewish fold even before it becomes a home-coming to the Jewish land. We, the children who have returned, find much to redress under the ancestral roof, for some of our brothers have sunk into deep misery. We are made welcome in the ancient house, for it is universally known that we are not actuated by an arrogant desire to undermine that which should be revered.

From the First Congress Address.

The National Basis

ZIONISM has already brought about something remarkable, heretofore regarded as impossible: a close union between the ultra-modern and the ultra-conservative elements of Jewry. The fact that this has come to pass without undignified concessions on the part of either side, without intellectual sacrifices, is further proof, if such proof be necessary, of the national entity of the Jewish people. A union of this kind is possible only on a national basis.

From the First Congress Address.

ONE of the first results of our movement, even now to be perceived in its larger outlines, will be the transformation of the Jewish question into the question of Zion.

From the First Congress Address.

Political Zionism

THOSE who give the matter careful consideration must surely admit that Zionism cannot gain its ends otherwise than through an unreserved understanding with the political units involved. . . . The confidence of the Government with which we want to negotiate regarding the settlement of Jewish masses on a large scale can be gained by frank language and upright dealing. . . . One thing is to be adhered to inviolably: the agreement must be based on rights and not on toleration. Truly, we have had enough experience of toleration and of "protection" which could be revoked at any moment.

From the First Congress Address.

IF any one thinks that the Jews can steal into tl land of their fathers, he is deceiving himself ar others. Nowhere is the coming of the Jews : promptly noted as in the historic home of the rac for the very reason that it is the historic home.

From the First Congress Address.

ZIONISM is simply a peacemaker. And it suffe the usual fate of peacemakers, in being forc to fight more than any one else.

From the First Congress Address.

THE new Jewish movement came before the wor as a strange apparition, incomprehensible many. Some considered it a ghost of former time Was not the Jewish people dead and forgotte But we had felt dimly, half consciously as it wei that was not true. Death is the end of all suffering whence came it that we suffered? In us the wor of the thinker were paraphrased: "I suffer, thei fore I am."

From the Second Congress Address

Legal Liberation and Ancient Custom

EVERY genuine nationality which does not hi behind a strange mask has a fundamental rig to respect and toleration on the part of other natior provided it does not menace their existence. Ev though our times are clouded by anti-Semitism, v must not forget that they were preceded by mo magnanimous days, when all the civilized natio bestowed equal rights upon us. Their intentio were good, but the results were inadequate. Wl was to blame—we or the others? Perhaps both, rather conditions of long standing which were n to be eradicated by law and ordinances. The lav were kindlier than the usages. We witnessed tl reaction, the tremendous upwelling of regret on tl part of those nations which had so recently show us indulgence. From the emancipation which cann be rescinded and the anti-Semitism the existence which cannot be denied, we have drawn new ai important conclusions. It could not have been tl historic significance of our emancipation that v cease to be Jews, for we were repulsed whenev we wanted to intermingle with the others. Tl historic import of our emancipation was rather th we provide a home for our liberated nationalit This we could not have done before. We can do now if we desire it with all our might.

From the Second Congress Address.

T is not sufficient that we feel and recognize our- · selves to be a nation. Once the national con- :iousness is awakened the national will must be)used.

From the Second Congress Address.

The Fight for the Kehillahs

THAT there should be agitations in Jewish communities against Zion has become intolerable. he situation is absurd, impossible. We must end it. n election campaign must be begun wherever the eads of the communities are not yet with us. Men ·ith convictions similar to ours, worthy and capa- le of filling these distinguished positions, must be ected and nominated in the name of the national lea. The prestige of the Jewish community, the eans at its disposal, the people whom it supports, ust not be used to oppose the will of our people. here I think I voice the sentiments of you all, fellow :legates, in proposing to make the conquest of the wish communities one of our immediate aims.

From the Second Congress Address.

Christian Zionists

T is not through paltry considerations of expediency that we clasp the hands so amicably held out to us, r they show above all that there is a conciliatory rce inherent in Zionism. Thoughts free from hatred)urish in this soil. We hold inviolably to our Jew- :ness, and nevertheless gain nobly disinterested iends. Is that so bad? They say that we create new fferences, and yet we bring people nearer to one ıother by a negligible effort, without the use of tifices. We show ourselves as we are—we simply ll the truth!

From the Second Congress Address.

The Jewish Right to Palestine

OF course the site which is suited to us—Palestine—is of a peculiar nature. No spot on earth ıs been so coveted as this, and many nations desired so intensely that the ardor of their longing dried up. We, however, believe that this desolate corner the Orient has, like us, not only a past but also a ıture. On that soil, where so little grows at present, ere grew ideas for all mankind. . . . If there is ch a thing as a legitimate claim to a portion of e earth's surface, all peoples who believe in the ble must recognize the rights of the Jews. As a ıtter of fact, they may do so without envy or anxiety, r the Jews are not, and will nevermore become, a ılitical power.

From the Second Congress Address.

The Overwise

OF course the practical people, the overwise, will come and ask what is to be gained by all this. We know these people. We remember all the stones they hurled in our path, all the annoyances they wished to cause us and succeeded in causing us. It is these same people who are never done with asking what we have accomplished, how far we have progressed, when we shall finally reach our goal. If they had helped us with all their strength instead of hampering us with all their strength, they could not question us more eagerly. . . . We build on and on. I am convinced that all those Jews who stand aside to-day with a malicious smile and with their hands in their trousers' pockets, will also want to dwell in our beautiful house.

From the Fourth Congress Address.

Thirty Years Ago

OUR activities and the progress we have made can be summed up in a single sentence: we are organizing Jewry for its coming destiny.

From the Fourth Congress Address.

A Counter-Question

FOR once we too shall ask a question. We shall ask our Jewish opponents what they have done in all these years to relieve the frightful distress of our brothers. Where are the results of their work? What have they achieved? Have they created anything practical? We are continuously told of committees, of collections, of institutions. Out with the results! Out with the effects! We should like to admire these people and to thank them in the name of the poor. This is no petulant question, but a fearfully serious one.

From the Fourth Congress Address.

The Bankruptcy of Philanthropy

UP to now, among the arguments in favor of Zionism one of the best was the bankruptcy of assimilation. Now we have a new one: the insolvency of philanthropy. And what an insolvency! For when the wealthy become bankrupt the losses are enormous.

From the Fourth Congress Address.

For the Impatient

OUR progress is laborious, yes, and full of affliction. But it will prove our courage and our faithfulness. Let those who crave immediate results withdraw from our ranks.

From the Fourth Congress Address.

IN criticizing former efforts we must guard against arrogance. As a matter of fact our position toward the earlier Zionists is simply that of people who make modern improvements on an unserviceable old machine. Doubtless the former machine deserves veneration, but it belongs to a museum. . . . Philan-

thropic colonization is a failure. National colonization will succeed.

From the Fifth Congress Address.

ALMS are merely the tie which binds the lazy rich to the lazy poor. But these two categories do not represent the whole of the Jewish people.

From the Fifth Congress Address.

Emigration as a Solution

IN the last two decades of the nineteenth century the Jewish committees looked upon emigration as a panacea for all ills. But apart from all considerations such as the suffering of all wanderers, the cruelty of strange conditions into which they came unprepared, the loss to the nation resulting from ever-repeated dispersions, emigration was a feasible expedient only as long as the countries into which the stream was directed did not rebel against the influx of the despairing proletariat.

This is the new period into which we have entered. The countries are beginning to resist although, or rather *because*, the misery of the Jews in Eastern Europe is increasing. And yet they are countries whose high standard of morality it were folly to question. These states consider it necessary to put a check to their wonted humaneness—I am not speaking ironically—and to treat the Jewish question, which in their case is a question of Jewish immigration, as a matter of politics. It is only among us Jews that some people refuse in fear and trembling to see the political significance of the Jewish question. Their fear should arouse our pity rather than our anger, if once we understand it aright. It is a fear of wide vistas, and it has its source in the narrow *Judengasse*.

From the Sixth Congress Address.

Those Who Drop Out

THOSE people drop out whose loss is of no consequence. One withdraws because of wounded vanity, another because he could not serve his own interests in the cause, another because he wanted to be associated only with a successful venture and yet others for various reasons. But as to those who remain, their love for the cause grows greater with each sacrifice.

From the Sixth (and last) Congress Address.

Charity and Zionism

A JEWISH gentleman writing in the London *Times* permitted himself some premature remarks on the Basle Congress. Had he been in Basle he might have been able to spare himself these foolish remarks. He said, among other things, that the Congress was not a real national assembly because certain charity organizations and community bodies were not represented. They were not there? *Parbleu*! We had not invited them! What have we got to do with the charity organizations, the community boards, and all the Jewish Pickwick Clubs? The dear gentleman who wrote to the *Times* simply has not understood our movement. He does not know what the rebirth of a nation is.

Herzl on the First Congress.

A Prophetic Warning

PRIVATE property we can buy everywhere in the world, at any moment. Zionism has nothing to do with that. Private right is a matter of complete indifference to us; it will come later, just as the real estate speculators will join when our movement will have become successful!

Herzl on the First Congress.

To the Greatest Jewish Philanthropist

WHAT you have undertaken until now was as great spirited as it was unsuccessful, as expensive as it was pointless. Until now you have been merely a philanthropist, a Peabody. I shall show you the way to become something more than that.

Herzl's Second Letter to Baron de Hirsch May 24, 1895.

The Evolution of a Leader

DO not believe that I have said this in order to reach out for the leadership of the Jewish people. On the contrary, it is my inmost wish to withdraw from the direction of this movement, which ought to be impersonal, strong and pure. I am only a writer. The idea of the Jewish State has driven me forth from my study, and as a matter of fact I am astounded when I hear myself speak in meetings like these or see myself negotiating with leading statesmen. I hardly dared to admit to one of our friends who permitted himself to be interviewed yesterday, that I even meet with financiers.

Herzl at the Maccabæan Club, London, July 6, 1896.

Experts in Herzl's Day

A SCHEME such as mine is gravely imperiled by the antagonistic attitude of "experts." Now experts are often nothing more than men sunk into the groove of daily routine, whence they have an extraordinarily limited view. At the same time their adverse opinion carries great weight, and can do considerable harm to a new project, at any rate until this new thing is sufficiently strong to throw "experts" and their stupid notions to the winds.

From the Judenstaat.

What Is Anti-Semitism?

MODERN anti-Semitism is not to be confounded with the religious persecutions of the Jews of former times. It does occasionally take a somewhat religious bias, but the main current of the aggressive movement has now changed. In the principal countries where anti-Semitism prevails, it does so as a result of the emancipation of the Jews. When civilized nations awoke to the inhumanity of exclusive legislation and enfranchised us, our enfranchisement came too late.

From the Judenstaat.

Jews and Peasants

WHOEVER were to attempt the conversion of the Jew into a peasant would be making an extraordinary mistake. For a peasant is a historical category, as is proved by his costume, which in some countries he has worn for centuries; and by his tools, which are identical with those used by his earliest forefathers. . . . The peasant is a type which is in course of extinction. . . . It is absurd, and indeed impossible, to make modern peasants on the old pattern. No one is wealthy or powerful enough to make civilization take a single retrograde step. . . . Under these circumstances the Jews are perfectly justified in refusing to stir when people try to agrarianize them.

From the Judenstaat.

Waiting for Progress

I BELIEVE in the ascent of man to higher and yet higher grades of civilization; but I consider this ascent to be desperately slow. Were we to wait till average humanity had become as charitably inclined as was Lessing when he wrote *Nathan the Wise*, we should wait beyond our day, beyond the days of our children, of our grandchildren and of our great-grandchildren. But the world spirit comes to our aid in another way.

From the Judenstaat.

How Long Will It Take?

I AM absolutely convinced I am right—though I doubt whether I shall live to see myself proved to be so. Those who are the first to inaugurate this movement will scarcely live to see its glorious close. But the inauguration is enough to give them self-respect and the joy of freedom of soul.

Herzl (at 35) in the Judenstaat.

Prospects of Zionism

MANY latent political forces lie in our financial power, that power which our enemies assert to be actually and now as effective as we know it might be if we exercised it. Poor Jews feel only the hatred which this financial power provokes; its use in alleviating their lot as a body they have not yet felt. The credit of our great Jewish financiers would have to be placed at the service of the National Idea. But should these gentlemen, who are naturally satisfied with their lot, decline to do anything for their co-religionists, who are unjustly held responsible for the large possessions of certain individuals, should these great financiers refuse to co-operate, then the realization of this plan will afford an opportunity for drawing a clear line of distinction between them and the rest of Judaism.

EVERYBODY is familiar with the phenomenon of steam-power, generated by boiling water, lifting the kettle-lid. Such tea-kettle phenomena are the attempts of Zionists and of kindred associations to check anti-Semitism. Now I believe that this power, if rightly employed, is powerful enough to propel a large engine and to despatch passengers and goods; the engine having any form men may choose to give it.

THE artificial means heretofore employed to overcome the troubles of the Jews have either been too petty—such as attempts at colonization; or they were mistaken in principle—such as attempts to convert the Jews into peasants in their present homes. What is the result of transporting a few thousand Jews to another country? Either they come to grief at once; or else they prosper and then their prosperity creates anti-Semitism.

THE common people have not, and indeed cannot have any historic comprehension. They do not know that the sins of the Middle Ages are being visited now on the nations of Europe. We are what the ghetto made us.

ALTHOUGH I speak of reason I am fully aware that reason alone will not suffice. Old prisoners do not willingly leave their cells. And we shall see whether the young, whom we need, have grown up to us; whether the young, who irresistibly draw on the old, will transform rational motives into enthusiasm.

NO human being is wealthy or powerful enough to transplant a nation from one habitation to another. An idea alone can encompass that.

THE Jewish State is essential to the world; it will therefore be created.

From the Judenstaat.

Herzl's Last Message to America

The following letter, dated some two months before Herzl's death, was his last message addressed to the Zionists of America. At this time the agitation with regard to East Africa was at its height, and Herzl was anxious to clear up any misunderstanding that might have arisen in America with regard to his position. Herzl was deeply affected by the accusations which had been hurled at him that he had abandoned Palestine and the Zionist ideal. The great struggle that ensued left him in a shattered physical condition.

Vienna, April 28, 1904.

To the Convention of the Federation of
American Zionists, Assembled in Cleveland, Ohio.

Worthy Colleagues:

You reassemble after the passing of many anxious days. Our friends throughout the world have been burdened by a fear that a national organization for the completion of a national work, created with so much difficulty, could be injured. The cause of this uneasiness was miscomprehension of the offer of the British Government.

We were compelled to lay before the Congress the fact that the British Government had offered us a tract of land for our suffering brethren, because we had no right to refuse the bread offered our poor. No one, however, has the right to conclude from this that we have departed from the Basle Program which we have formulated. I was deeply pained to note that it was believed that I had given up Palestine. I endeavored in my closing address at Basle to tranquilize all agitation by repeating our old oath.

East Africa offers us no solution of the Jewish problem. The Jewish question remains, but this plan would save for the house of Israel the poorest among the masses, who are now borne down by national and economic conditions and who would otherwise be lost to us. There is no political question as complicated as ours. But we have accepted no charity, and our policy is not the policy of philanthropy. A nation does not accept philanthropy—and our policy is a national one. As a nation, we have entered into negotiations with the British Government; as a nation, we shall continue treating of these affairs. The importance of the East African question lies in the fact that the Congress is publicly recognized by the greatest territorial power on earth as the representative of the Jews. Our history knows no analogy, and therefore it was right and proper that the Congress should reach the decision to send a Commission to gather the material for a practical decision on the issue, so that our people could be properly informed, and that our resolutions might be based upon fact, and not upon phrases. It was and is our duty adequately to carry out the decision of the Congress, as it was an obligation upon the Conference of the Greater Actions Committee to secure the unity of our organization by assuring the execution of the Congress resolutions. The Conference has carried out its mandate by the acceptance of resolutions already well known. The decision of the Sixth Congress to send an investigating Commission to East Africa therefore remains as decided by the Congress, and the unity of our organization is secured. We desire that Zionism shall go forward, that Zionism shall be the representative of the Jewish people. Why do we wish this? Because we believe that to attain a great end great power is needed. No private organization and no assembly can provide this force. Only the organization of the people can bring this power, and the medium of creating it is the Congress.

Dear colleagues, I greet you heartily. I expect from your labors not only that the organization in America will stride forward, but I hope also that the Federation of American Zionists will, like other Federations, immediately devote its attention to obliterating the injuries done our cause in the last few months by the refusal on the part of some to obey the mandate of the Congress, to safeguarding the decisions of the Congress and to increasing the propaganda in favor of our national ideas.

With Zion's greetings,

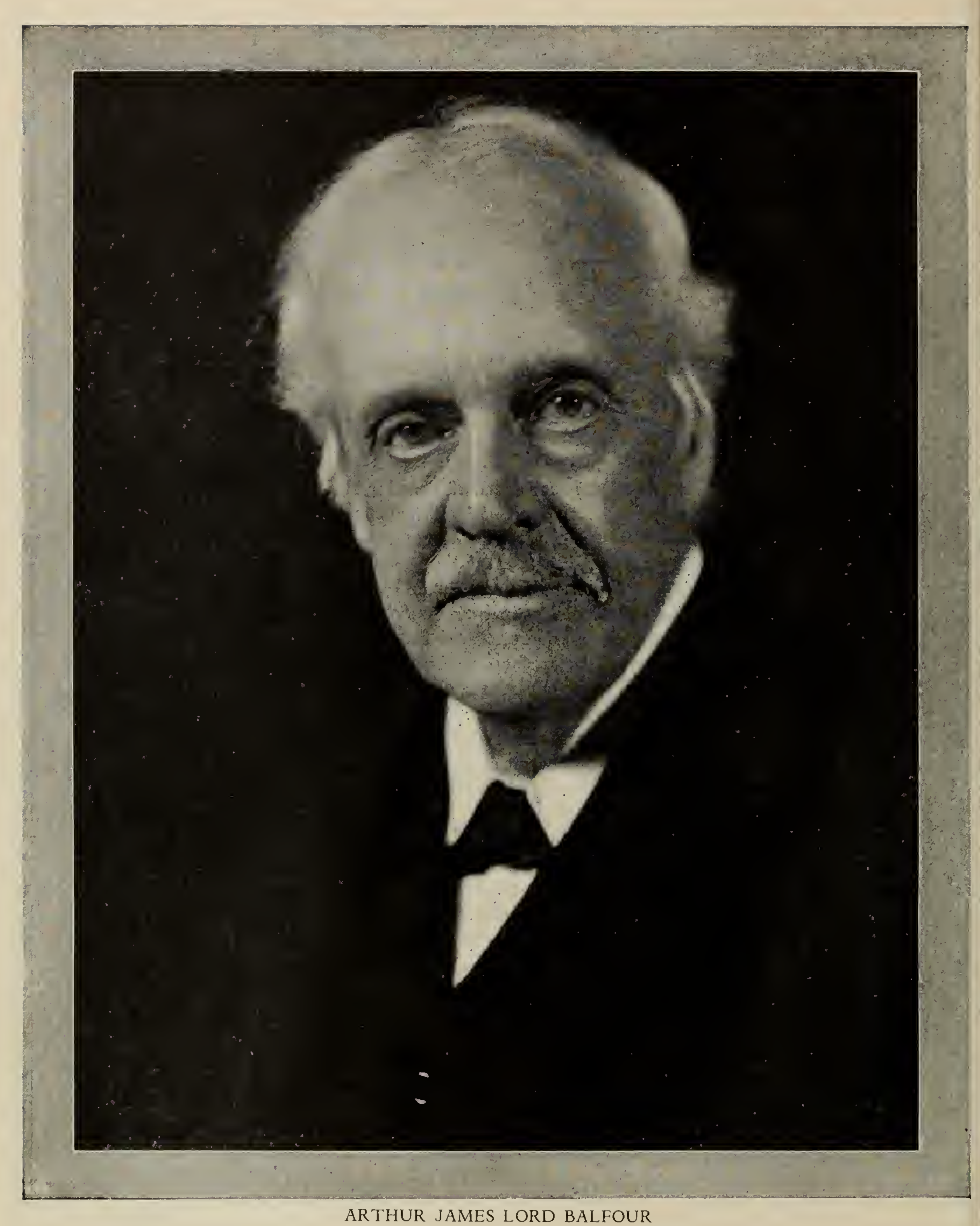
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SECTION III

Twenty-Five Years After

A Review of Zionist and General Jewish Life

IN the quarter of a century which has passed since the death of Theodor Herzl the current of Jewish life has assumed a new direction. Momentous changes have transpired affecting every group and every point of view. That the life and work of Herzl inspired or were responsible for many of the changes, directly or indirectly, is recognized by students of Jewish history. The following pages attempt to summarize some of the major events in Jewish life during the past twenty-five years. Written by eminent authorities, the articles serve not only to record the important facts but to interpret their meaning for the progress of Jewish life. The development of Zionism in the most important countries of the world is treated here, as well as the status of general Jewish life in those communities. Here also are impressions of the new tendencies and aspirations, whether it be in the field of Hebrew literature or in the realm of social psychology. From these articles the reader can obtain a panoramic view of the two decades and a half since the passing of Herzl.



ARTHUR JAMES LORD BALFOUR

Whose Declaration of November 2, 1917, Gave Greatest Impetus to the Reconstruction of Palestine as the Jewish National Homeland

Twenty-Five Years of Palestine

A Résumé of Jewish Effort and Achievement

By DR. ARTHUR RUPPIN

THE quarter century that has passed since the death of Theodor Herzl has been more profoundly significant for Palestine than any other period since the time of the Crusades. Before the commencement of the new Jewish immigration under the Turks, this country was one of the most backward regions of the Near East. Now Jewish activity and the British administration have roused it from its sleep of centuries, so that in a short time it has developed to an extent unparalleled in any Oriental country.

In order to appreciate fully what the events of the past twenty-five years have meant to the Jews of Palestine we must glance cursorily at their situation in the two quarter centuries preceding. Only thus can we obtain the proper background for their recent development.

Our knowledge of the history of the Jews in Palestine since the destruction of the Second Temple is very incomplete. The discovery, in 1928, of the remains of a large synagogue of the time of Emperor Justin of Byzantium (approximately 520 C.E.) in our Emek colony Beth Alpha proves that large Jewish communities existed in the Emek Jezreel as late as the sixth century of the common era. Thus the interval of time that separates our new Jewish settlements from the old is not as great as is ordinarily believed. It is probable that most of the Jewish communities were destroyed only when the Crusaders were in power. But though the Jews were driven out of some parts of Palestine they continued to live in other sections. Since the destruction of the Jewish State there has been not a single period when Jews were entirely absent from Palestine; a certain number of Jews have always lived there. After the Crusades, of course, this number grew very small; in the sixteenth century, when Safed was renowned as a seat of Jewish learning, the total Jewish population of Palestine amounted to only a few tens of thousands. And in the three centuries that followed this population decreased even more. By 1855 it had fallen to 11,000 —our first reliable estimate of the number of Jews in Palestine. It is true, however, that the entire population of the country was very low then, the total number of inhabitants amounting to scarcely more than 200,000.



DR. ARTHUR RUPPIN

The above estimate was made by Ludwig August Frankl of Vienna, who, commissioned by Frau von Laemel of Vienna to build the first secular school for the Jews of Palestine, journeyed there in 1855. In his book, *Nach Jerusalem* (Leipzig, 1858), he describes graphically the obstacles the orthodox Jews of Jerusalem laid in the way of his plans. They feared any outside influence that might constitute a menace to their orthodoxy, and even went so far as to put the new school and all those who intended to send their children there under a ban. As the majority of the Jews were then living from the *Halukah*, and therefore were dependent upon the heads of the *Kolel*, this threat of the *Cherem* sufficed, quite naturally, to make them keep their children out of the school. Only a few had the daring to ignore the edict of the *Cherem*—and the first secular school was opened. (It still exists, under the name of Laemel School, and is now being administered by the Zionist Organization.) It was with this school that the first breath of modern life entered Palestine.

However, the significance of 1855 for Palestine does not stop here. This was the year when Moses Montefiore visited the Holy Land and, by his purchases, brought the first parcel of farmland into Jewish possession. It was a relatively small stretch of land near Jaffa (for many decades it was occupied by an orange plantation, and now it has become a Jewish residential suburb); but the purchase of it revealed the realization of Montefiore, at that early date, of the importance of agriculture for Palestinian Jewry. Frankl, too, approvingly mentions in his book that one (!) of the Jews of Jerusalem is engaged in agriculture near the city.

We must note another event which took place in the period between 1855 and 1879: The founding, in 1870, of the agricultural college Mikveh Israel near Jaffa by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. This school, which still exists, was a veritable oasis. In the rest of the

country the Jews made hardly any economic progress. The immigration of orthodox Jews from Eastern Europe and Morocco had brought their number to about 34,000 by 1879. But only very few of them—particularly the Moroccan Jews, who settled in Jaffa and Haifa—earned an income by their own work.

FROM 1880 TO 1904

FROM 1880 to 1904 considerable changes took place. The establishment of the agricultural school Mikveh Israel provided an impetus that slowly brought results. Some pious Jerusalem Jews decided to devote themselves to agriculture, and bought land for this purpose near the Arab village Mulebbi, not far from Jaffa. In 1882 they settled here definitely, thus laying the foundation for the colony Petach Tikvah, whose inhabitants now number 8,000, and whose extensive orange plantations have made it the wealthiest and largest Jewish colony of Palestine. Other agricultural settlements that were also founded in 1882 were Rishon le Zion, Ness Ziona, Zichron Jacob, and Rosh Pinah. The establishment of these colonies was the result of the persecution which the Jews of Russia and Rumania had to suffer about that time, and which had caused several groups of young men to emigrate to Palestine, buy land there, and settle upon it as farmers. In this they had been influnced by the Chibath Zion movement, which had gained a foothold in the intellectual circles of Eastern Europe in the sixties of the nineteenth century, and which demanded the return of the Jews to Palestine. The enthusiasm of the new immigrants was great; but they had underestimated the difficulties they would encounter. Neither their knowledge nor their means was sufficient for their purposes. For three extraordinarily difficult years they struggled against overwhelming odds, and would surely have been defeated had not a miracle saved them.



Two Budding Agriculturists in the School of Mikveh Israel, Founded in 1870 by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*

The miracle was this: When one of the colonists of Rishon le Zion went to Paris and there saw Baron Edmond Rothschild and told him of the work of the Jewish settlements, the Baron grew so enthusiastic about the colonies that he immediately sent his representative to Palestine to study conditions and to help the settlers with money and advice. From that day on Baron Rothschild's interest in Jewish colonization has never waned; indeed, this work came to fill his entire life. He is known, and quite properly, as the father of Jewish colonization in Palestine. There is no doubt that it would have been impossible to preserve the early Jewish settlements and to establish new ones had not the Baron generously assisted the colonists at the beginning. He it was who, when the colonists did not know what branch of agriculture to choose, directed them toward wine-growing, by sending them expert instructors and good French vines, and by building large wine-vaults for them. In the first years, moreover, the Baron bought their grapes at a fixed price, thus assuring them of a definite income.

Other Jewish colonies were founded between 1882 and 1892; thus Katrah, Hederah, Ekron and Rehoboth in the coast plain, and Yessod Hamaalah and Mishmar Hayarden on the shores of Meron. Their work was made possible largely by Baron Rothschild, and partly by the Odessa Choveve Zion and various Russian agricultural societies. In addition to their wine-growing some of these colonies also cultivated grain; and Rosh Pinah also introduced the breeding of silkworms. Somewhat later, about 1900, when Baron Rothschild gave over the administration of the work of colonization in Palestine to the ICA, the first colonies of Lower Galilee—Sedjera, Yemmah, Meshah—were founded, on the basis of the cultivation of grain. In 1904 the total population of the colonies was about 4,500, two thirds being engaged in agriculture, and the rest in other activities.

The influx of Jews who settled in the agricultural colonies was accompanied by immigration into the cities, where the Jews devoted themselves to commerce and the various trades. Many of these immigrants concentrated in Jaffa, which was the hub of the new colonies, and whose Jewish population increased from scarcely 1,000 in 1880 to about 6,000 twenty-five years later. Here the Odessa Committee of the Choveve Zion founded, in 1902, the first school with Hebrew as its language of instruction. In Haifa, too, this quarter century laid the foundation for an active, working Jewish population. The other four

cities, however—Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed and Tiberias—gained little from this immigration. The majority of the Jews of these cities continued to belong to the old *Yishuv*, and lived principally on the donations of the pious.

Thus the total Jewish population had grown from 34,000 in 1880 to 60,000 in 1904; three fourths of it still belonged to the old *Yishuv*, and only one fourth to the new. And as the total population of Palestine was about 650,000 in 1904, the Jews made up approximately nine per cent. of it.

FROM 1904 TO 1929

AT the first Zionist Congress, in 1897, Herzl proclaimed his slogan of the establishment of an internationally recognized and legally secured Homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine. Gradually the group of Jews interested in the upbuilding of Palestine grew to considerable proportions. But several years passed before its influence became felt in Palestine. It was only in 1904 and 1905 that the Anglo-Palestine Company was founded in Jaffa as a branch of the Jewish Colonial Trust of London, and the first agricultural land parcels (Huldah, Ben Shemen, Kinnereth) were acquired by the Jewish National Fund. The Hebrew *Gymnasium* of Jaffa also was founded in 1905; and about this time the first Jewish factories for the production of oil, the repairing of machinery and the manufacture of pumps sprang up. This was accomplished by another influx of young workers and middle-class families from Eastern Europe (the second *Aliyah*) who entered very energetically into economic and cultural activities. It was a period of rebirth and new life. Let us examine its various manifestations.

ON my first trip to Palestine, which I made in 1907 as a private individual, I gathered material for a report on the economic possibilities of the country, in compliance with a request of the Inner Actions Committee and the Jewish National Fund. Accordingly I endeavored to come in touch with all Jewish groups, and to learn their views and wishes. Many people came to me with projects of every sort; and I listened to them all. But when the proponent had finished, and I asked him whether he had any means of his own for the execution of his plan, he usually regarded me uncomprehendingly. The project, he thought, was all that could be required from him; the money should be furnished by others. Under the conditions then prevailing, however, none of the plans seemed practicable to me.

I was in the Hotel Kaminitz in Jerusalem on a hot July day in 1907 when a watch-maker from Jaffa, Weiss by name, came to me. He was the representative of a building construction company of Jaffa, Achuzath Baith, whose sixty members were mostly teachers, merchants, physicians and officials. He explained to me in great detail the necessity for building a modern Jewish suburb near Jaffa, as the sanitary condition of the town was intolerably wretched. I listened to him, and then asked my usual question: How much money of its own the company had at its disposal. I expected the usual answer: Nothing. But to my amazement Weiss told me they had 100,000 *francs* ($20,000). And by way of proof he showed me a statement of the Anglo-Palestine Company's, confirming that 50,000 *francs* had already been deposited with it. Now, $20,000 was a very small sum when it came to buying land for sixty houses and building them; at least four times that amount would be required. Yet I saw that these men were serious in their intentions, and I promised Weiss to come to Jaffa and look over the land whose purchase they were contemplating. This I did on the following day. Immediately thereafter a physician declared me to be suffering from typhoid fever, and ordered me into a hospital. But before I left I dictated a letter to the Jewish National Fund, warmly recommending that a loan of 300,000 *francs* be granted the Achuzath Baith company. Even I was surprised when, two weeks later, the telegraphic reply was delivered to me in the hospital, agreeing to the loan. The members of the Achuzath Baith were delighted. The purchase of the land was completed, and some time later the construction of a well was commenced. The foundation - stone was laid in 1909. I remember that only a small group was present at the ceremony. All about us was yellow sand into which we sank to our ankles. The highway leading to Jaffa was a Turkish road, and therefore almost impassable, so badly was it in need



BARON EDMOND ROTHSCHILD
Known as the Father of Jewish Colonization in Palestine



ALMOND TREE IN PALESTINE

of repairs. The authorities opposed the project, and most of the "practical" people disposed of it with a smile and the term "Utopian," deploring the senseless waste of money that was being buried in the desert. And even the small company gathered about the foundation-stone alternated between hope and fear. Some of these men had put everything they possessed into this building scheme, and had staked their entire future upon this one card. Would they really succeed in building a modern city in this sea of sand? The antiquated Turkish law had made it impossible to make out the deed for the land in the name of the company or its individual members, so that the ground had to be purchased in the name of a dummy. The registration of mortgages also was impossible. On the other hand, it was in the power of the government to refuse building permits for the houses, and to use other obstructive tactics, in order to extort *baksheesh*. All these difficulties loomed large before the eyes of these people.

But optimism conquered. To-day a city stands where a few people stood then; and this city, which is considered the most modern of the Near East, now has more than 40,000 inhabitants. This despite the devastating effect of four years of war and two years of post-war disorganization. At the beginning its development was slow. In 1914 its inhabitants numbered only 2,000, while the census of October, 1922, fixed the population at 15,000. The large immigration of the next few years brought it to 35,000 by 1926; and to-day it is estimated at 40,000. Formerly Tel Aviv was merely a little appendage of Jaffa to-day Jaffa has almost become a suburb of Tel Aviv

Following the example of Tel Aviv, the Jews o Haifa, Jerusalem and Tiberias also began to settle ir Jewish quarters of their own. Haifa began the con struction of a new suburb at the foot of Carmel a early as 1910. At that time ten families settled or the slope of Carmel, near the place where the Techni cum now stands. By 1929 a modern Jewish quarte with about 4,000 inhabitants had developed here When we include the other new Jewish sections (Neve Shaanan, Bath Galim), and the Jews of the city o Haifa itself, we see that its Jewish population ha increased from barely 1,000 in 1904 to 16,000 at the present time. In Jerusalem, too, a number of moderr Jewish sections have been built up: Talpioth, Recha viah, Beth Hakerem, Montefiore, Bayit Vegan Ruchamah, Romena. And the character of the Jerusalem Jews has changed completely in this quarte century. While, in 1904, probably four fifths of its 25,000 Jews belonged to the old *Yishuv*, and only one fifth to the new, the proportion is reversed to-day. The majority of the 55,000 Jews of Jerusalem (who comprise about 60 per cent. of the city's entire population) are now actively engaged in commerce or the various trades, or as clerks, officials, teachers, physicians, etc. Jewish life in Jerusalem has undergone a profound metamorphosis. This is largely due to the fact that the steadily growing influx of tourists furnishes a considerable income to the city, and that as the seat of the British administration, the Zionist Executive, the medical organization of Hadassah and the Hebrew University it has become the headquarters



ONE OF PALESTINE'S NATURAL BEAUTIES

of many officials and scholars. Even Tiberias, whose population formerly was reputed to be extremely backward, has been imbued with a new spirit by the proximity of the colonies. The hillside to the West of it has become the site of a suburb, Kiriath Samuel, whose beautiful tree-lined avenues and modern construction enable it to compare with any other modern district in Palestine.

THE FIRST ZIONIST FARM

IN 1905 a serious crisis prevailed in Jewish agriculture in Palestine. It had developed that the colonies were producing much more wine than they could sell. Their wine-cellars were full to overflowing. Thus it became necessary to pull up a number of the vineyards that had been planted at such great expense; for it was essential that supply and demand should reach some degree of correspondence. As a result the economic prospects of the wine-growing colonies were exceedingly poor. Even more discouraging was the circumstance that the younger generation, whose education in the colony schools had been conducted in the French language and according to French cultural standards, showed no affection for the colonies, and endeavored, instead, to establish itself in the cities or, wherever possible, in Europe. Thus the work in the fields was done not by the children of the colonists but by Arab day-laborers.

Nor was the situation of the grain-growing colonies of Galilee better. Although every colonist tilled an area of 250 dunam the meager results did not suffice to cover his living expenses. The settlers made efforts to find some source of income outside the agricultural field, and to rent their farms to Arabs.

Evidently, therefore, the Jewish colonies, whether they cultivated the grapevine or grain, were not developing soundly in the economic sense. And the position of the Arab fellahin, too, was very difficult. Despite their untiring labor and the reduction of their needs to a minimum inconceivably low to Europeans they contracted debts and fell into the power of usurers. The only farmers who seemed at all prosperous were those of the two German agricultural colonies near Jaffa. Following the example of their own country, they had developed a form of agriculture centering about the dairy; and they were able to sell their milk at a profit in the cities.

When, in 1908, the Zionist Organization appointed me to take over its representation in Palestine, and I established the Palestine Office in Jaffa for this purpose, one of the first problems with which I had to deal was that of the land which the National Fund had bought in 1905 near Jaffa (Ben Shemen, Huldah), and on the Sea of Tiberias (Kinnereth). Heretofore, this land had either been rented to Arabs (for no Jews could be found to rent it), or had lain fallow. However, neither course was safe. According to the Turkish law the government was able to confiscate land that had lain fallow for three years. When a parcel was rented to an Arab, on the other hand, there was the danger that when his lease had expired he might not return the land of his own accord; and this might lead to long-drawn-out lawsuits. Hence the only way out was to cultivate the land ourselves. But here the question arose as to how this was to be done. There was no Zionist fund for purposes of colonization. The constitution of the National Fund permitted only the purchase of land, and not the expenditure of money for the settlement of that land. Confronted by this dilemma, I circumvented it by designating Ben Shemen and Huldah as sites for olive groves, as there existed a special "olive-tree fund." As for Kinnereth, I decided to establish a farm there with the money of the Palestine Land Development Company, which had been founded in 1908 at my request, and of whose share-capital, nominally amounting to £50,000, about £5,000 had already been paid in. The money on hand was not sufficient for the establishment of more than one farm. After an examination of all the various types of farms then existing in Palestine we chose that of mixed production, as practised in the German colonies. In the autumn of 1908 the manager, an energetic agronomist from Southern Russia by the name of Bermann, went to Kinnereth with twenty picked young men, and established the farm there. Thus the first step on the road to Zionist colonization was made; and at the same time the Zionist farms were given a definite direction, that of mixed production centering about the dairy industry.



THE BOY SCOUTS OF TO-DAY—THE CHALUTZIM OF TO-MORROW

DURING the first year in Kinnereth the manager and his workers lived together harmoniously;

an enthusiastic, honeymoon atmosphere prevailed. But soon difficulties arose between them. The manager treated the workers as mere laborers, and gave them no voice in the direction of the farm. The workers, who saw in Kinnereth the cornerstone of a great future colonization, and who were prepared to make every sacrifice to the success of the enterprise, believed they could demonstrate some errors of management on his part. And their demand for a hearing made the situation of the administrator exceedingly difficult. Another source of constant friction was the difference in social views and philosophy between him and the workers; and all this caused the work of the farm to suffer. When, in 1910, these differences were aggravated to the point that the workers called a strike, the problem was finally solved by giving over that part of Kinnereth which lay east of the Jordan to a group of seven workers who were to cultivate it on their own responsibility, under the direction of a committee chosen by themselves. This was the only course open. It did not increase the income of the workers, for the establishments concerned were national farms whose proceeds were far from yielding a profit, and whose aim, for that matter, was not the making of profit but the colonization of independent farmers. The fixed wages the workmen had received under the manager were probably higher than the uncertain income accruing to them after they had taken over the farm on their own account. Yet this kvutzah in Dagania (as the Transjordanian part of Kinnereth was named), was founded because the other alternative—to divide the large farm into smaller units, and thus to make it possible to dispense with the manager—would have required quite a considerable amount of money for buildings, etc.; and this money was not available. However, this kvutzah, born of necessity, later developed an unsuspected dynamic force for Jewish colonization, so that a temporary solution became a permanent institution. By giving groups of young men responsible tasks in dangerous places it called forth their maximum of devotion and initiative. It gave them the advantages of agriculture on a large scale, such as the use of machinery, a better disposition of the land, a more advantageous employment of whatever resources they had, etc. As it grew it was able to take in beginners as new members, and to train them in all branches of agriculture—an opportunity not offered elsewhere in Palestine to any considerable degree for young men beyond school age. And, finally, it relieved the enterprise of the not insignificant salary of the manager.

So far, we have seen nothing in Palestine to prove the kvutzah the economic inferior of the individual settlement (*moshav ovdim*). Some kvutzoth, it is true, have failed entirely, or have given bad results, but this applies to individual settlements also. If we seek the causes of the success of one kvutzah or the failure of another, we find that the kvutzah proves viable when its members closely resemble one another in character, training and industriousness, and when their activities do not exceed a certain scope. Indiscriminate puttin[g] together of workers of different training, mentalit[y] and capacity for work inevitably causes bickering[s] that lower the efficiency and productivity of the grou[p]. And too ambitious a scale of activity renders th[e] direction of the work more difficult, and leads t[o] economic or technical errors and losses.

THE ORANGE

ORANGE cultivation in Palestine goes back to th[e] seventeenth century. The Arabs still call th[e] fruit *portugali*, a name indicating that it was th[e] Portuguese who brought it to Palestine from it[s] native China. In the vicinity of Jaffa there grows [a] special variety distinguished by its large size, ova[l] shape, seedlessness and particularly fine flavor. A[s] early as 1900 this Jaffa orange found a market i[n] England, where it was sent in special ships. In 191[?] 850,000 crates of oranges were exported from Jaffa[;] in 1913 the number of crates exported had risen t[o] 1,600,000. Most of these oranges were grown b[y] Arabs. But in 1900 the Jews of Hederah, Petac[h] Tikvah, Rishon le Zion and Rehoboth had also com[-]menced to cultivate this fruit. While the Arab[s] planted their orange trees close together, and irrigate[d] their orchards chiefly by means of the primitive scoop[-]wheel, driven by animal power, the Jews left consider[-]able space between the trees, and employed oil motor[s] to run their irrigation pumps. The profits of thes[e] orange plantations were highly encouraging for th[e] owners. However, the entire industry depended ver[y] largely upon the employment of cheap Arab labor[.] The number of Jewish workers in the orange planta[-]tions was extremely small, despite the slow infiltra[-]tion of Jewish workingmen into the colonies.

The War dealt these plantations a deadly blow[.] After Turkey had entered the War and the ports o[f] Palestine were closed to traffic, the possibility o[f] export disappeared. Palestine itself was unable t[o] consume this enormous amount of oranges, or bough[t] them at prices so low that they scarcely covered th[e] cost of transportation. In addition, there arose [a] shortage of the petroleum necessary for the irrigation[n] machinery, so that many orange plantations were ruined by lack of water. Finally, the locust invasion of 1915 caused enormous damage, for the insects con-sumed everything except the actual wood of the trees. Thus the seven years from 1914 to 1921 were a catas-trophic period in which the orange planters were forced to watch helplessly the destruction of the plantations in which they had invested so much money and labor. Only in 1921 was a fairly regular shipping service resumed in Palestine, so that those orange plantations which had not been destroyed could again be operated at a profit. But the seven years of disaster had created so indelible an impression that several years more passed before any one dared to plant new orchards. In the meanwhile, however, the British market was giving the planters unusually high profits, amounting in some cases to 25 per cent. or more.



TREET IN HEDERAH, ONE OF THE OLD COLONIES

eginning with 1925, therefore, both Jews and Arabs ommenced to plant new orange orchards in large



A VIEW OF REHOBOTH, ONE OF THE MOST PROSPEROUS JEWISH COLONIES IN PALESTINE

numbers. While, in 1922, Palestine had only 32,000 lunam of orange plantations, of which 10,000 were n Jewish hands, the end of 1928 saw 70,000 dunam employed for the cultivation of oranges, 30,000 dunam of this land belonging to Jews. Thus the area of the ewish orange plantations has tripled in six years.

The Jaffa orange flourishes only in the coast region of Palestine, approximately from Gaza to Zichron Jacob. Only here does it find the climate and water it requires. All attempts to cultivate this orange in other countries have failed so far; Palestine seems to have a natural monopoly on it. As a result of the high prices which this orange has commanded in the last few years the expansion and spread of the orange plantations are continuing even now. Last year the receipts of the Jewish orange growers were estimated at £400,000, although only 10,000 dunam were yielding fruit, the other 20,000 dunam of plantations being still unable to bear fruit (for the time between the planting of an orange tree and its first yield is six years). If the present prices are maintained, the annual proceeds of the orange plantations will, in a few years, exceed a million pounds sterling. Moreover, the number of Jewish workers in the orange orchards has risen considerably in the last few years, and now stands at several thousand.

The colonization problem now confronting us is that of finding some means whereby farm laborers and people who have some small capital can be enabled to establish orange plantations of their own, to cover about ten dunam. If the owner were to work such a plantation himself it would yield an income sufficient to meet his living expenses and to pay off a loan in the course of ten or fifteen years after the trees begin to bear fruit. The difficulty is that it takes six years for an orange orchard to bring in any income at all. Unless, therefore, the colonist is able to find work in



GATHERING IN THE GRAPES IN RISHON LE ZION

a near-by colony he must practice other branches of agriculture besides orange-growing, to the end that he may have a certain income during the first six years as well. For it would be very dangerous for him to live on borrowed capital exclusively during that period. Among the possibilities to be considered as auxiliary activities are the cultivation of bananas, (which bear fruit after eighteen months), dairying, or the growing of certain varieties of vegetables.

THE objection arises that to base our colonization upon orange-growing might be a risky proceeding. Nor can we simply dismiss this objection. But it loses most of its force when we consider that experts in this field declare that because of its fine quality the Palestine orange has great possibilities in the world market. Moreover, the fact that hitherto the Zionist Organization has laid the greatest stress upon the dairy industry in its colonies provides a certain balancing counterpoise to the orange plantations. And, of course, no one has the intention of establishing all our future colonies on the basis of orange-growing. Such a course would be impossible in any case, for, as has been mentioned, this orange thrives in only a very limited region of Palestine.

Before the World War American influence upon the Zionist work in Palestine equaled zero. Our knowledge that American Zionism existed at all was due merely to the circumstance that the Palestine Office received regularly, every summer, a communication from the American Zionist Federation acquainting it with the fact that the annual Convention of American Zionists would take place on such and such a date. To this the Palestine Office would reply with a letter of greeting to the Convention, and of exhortation to more intensive work for Palestine. This was the sum total of the correspondence, which was then not resumed until the same occasion arose the next year. The only evidence of American Zionist activity that we could see in Palestine was the establishment of an *achuzah* by Simon Goldman of St. Louis and some Chicago Zionists.

In 1914 Henry Morgenthau, then the American Ambassador to Constantinople, visited Palestine. I went with him to Petach Tikvah, where he seemed very favorably impressed.

When Turkey entered the World War Palestine was cut off overnight from the rest of the world, for its only means of communication had been by sea, where the Allied fleet was now supreme. Then we saw to how enormous an extent Palestine was dependent upon other countries. Foreign students who were attending Palestinian schools, all the religious institutions of Jerusalem, all the well-to-do who lived on the income



THE JAFFA ORANGES ARE RECOGNIZED AS THE BEST IN THE WORLD

eceived from businesses in other countries, all the xport and import merchants were suddenly deprived of their means of livelihood, and were forced to depend on the aid of others. At that time we telegraphed to everybody we could, including Morgenthau in Constantinople, asking for help. But we did not pin any great hopes on this telegram. Thus our joy and amazement were all the greater when, some time later, I received from Morgenthau a reply saying that he had received the sum of $50,000 from American Jews for us, and that he was sending this money to Jaffa through his son-in-law, Maurice Wertheim, who was coming on the American warship *Tennessee.* To our eyes this amount seemed incalculably great; and it relieved our need for a long time. But even greater than its material assistance was the moral encouragement of Morgenthau's telegram. For surely all the world had not forgotten us when an American warship was coming to Jaffa for our sake. The Turkish authorities and Arab population were profoundly impressed by the appearance of the warship, so that our position was strengthened. Another great service to the Jews of Palestine was rendered by the American Consul in Jerusalem, Otis A. Glazebrook. Later American Jews sent the S. S. *Vulcan* to Palestine with a cargo of food. And their aid continued uninterruptedly until America herself entered the War, in 1917. But the three years from 1914 to 1917 had sufficed to give the Jews of Palestine an entirely different conception of the power of American Jewry. Thus it appeared quite natural, after the War, that America should become the leader in the work of rehabilitating Palestine. From 1921 to 1929 America has contributed more to the Keren Hayesod than all other countries combined.


THE WHITE-WALLED TOWN OF SAFED

CENTS BECOME DOLLARS

TO-DAY we can hardly conceive the extreme meagerness of the means with which the Zionist Organization began its so-called practical work in Palestine in 1908. The Anglo-Palestine Company's capital for its bank was about $200,000. The share-capital of the Palestine Land Development Company amounted to $25,000. The annual contributions received by the Jewish National Fund were about $50,000, while the *shekels* brought in another $15,000 to $20,000 every year. That was all. The yearly budget of the Palestine Office I was directing amounted to $4,000 or $5,000; this included all salaries, office and traveling expenses, and rent. A few years later some additional capital came in through the Oppenheimer Co-operative Colonization Association, which had $25,000; the real estate company *Palâstina* with its capital of $25,000, to be used for the purchase of land in the cities; and the Palestine Industrial Syndicate, with a capital of $20,000 for the furtherance of industry. With these limited means farms were established on the land of the National Fund in Ben Shemen, Huldah, Kinnereth and Dagania; the co-operative settlement of Merchaviah was founded, and a large portion of the city land where Tel Aviv, Hadar Hacarmel (Haifa) and Talpioth (Jerusalem) now stand was bought. About 10,000 dunam of agricultural land near Petach Tikvah was acquired, and its cultivation begun; and, in Judea, Kfar Uri and Ruchama were bought. These purchases were possible because individual Zionists had, upon the request of the Palestine Office, bought building sites in the cities and farm land for cultivation with their private means. In 1914 the Odessa Committee placed at our disposal the sum of $10,000, which enabled us to conclude the purchase of the site on Mt. Scopus where the University now stands, and to pay the first instalment of the purchase price. The later instalments were paid by J. L. Goldberg, then of Vilna, and now residing in Tel Aviv.

The expenditures of the Zionist Organization and its institutions for colonization work in the cities and the country did not exceed an average of $40,000 annually between 1908 and 1914. Ten years later the combined receipts of the Keren Hayesod, the Keren Kayemeth and the other Zionist funds totaled almost 800,000 pounds sterling—$4,000,000; they had increased a hundredfold. The cents had become dollars.

THE Turkish administration of Palestine was distinguished by the extraordinary susceptibility of its officials to bribery, and their total failure to grasp economic questions. Like the pro-consuls of ancient Rome, who had been wont to regard their official position in the provinces exclusively as a

source of income, the governors whom Constantinople sent to Palestine considered their own advantage primarily. As a rule they did not remain in office long. Usually some court intrigue in Constantinople removed them from their post before they had become familiar with local conditions. Nor were the courts incorruptible, with the result that the people chose to suffer injustice rather than appeal to the judiciary. Only after the Jewish court of arbitration (*Mishpat Hashalom*) had been established in connection with the Palestine Office in 1910 did the Jews have an opportunity to settle their differences in a court. Moreover, the land registry office was conducted in a very disorderly fashion. The registered sizes and boundaries of plots of land did not correspond with reality, so that disputes about ownership were of every-day occurrence. The Jews had to face the additional difficulty that the government authorities strenuously opposed land purchases by Jews, and only in exceptional cases consented to register real estate in the name of even Ottoman Jews. Thus it was necessary to use an Ottoman Jew as a dummy in every purchase of land by non-Turkish Jews or by a company. Nothing was done toward keeping roads in repair or improving sanitary conditions. The Jews had adopted the course of avoiding contact with the government whenever possible, and were content when it did not obstruct their economic activities. No one even dreamed of requesting governmental aid for such activities.

After this antiquated government the taking over of the administration by England was a veritable deliverance. Now for the first time the inhabitants of the country had the opportunity for a serious discussion with the authorities on economic measures for the improvement of the country, even though the authorities did not grant all requests. The five years between 1920 and 1925, when Sir Herbert Samuel was High Commissioner, were marked by a radical change in legislation, administration of justice, and the executive activities of the government. The old Turkish laws were replaced by modern ones. Regulations were drawn up for domains which the Turkish law had ignored entirely—the co-operative trading system, for example. A beginning was made toward the transfer of real estate from the dummies to its real owners, and toward the correction of areas and boundary-lines as recorded in the land registry. The improvement of public health received careful attention. It is due to this that Jerusalem, where malaria formerly was endemic as a result of the cisterns that were found in every house, now, only a few years later, is entirely free of the disease, and may even be considered one of the healthiest of cities. Again, the internal revenue of Palestine, most of which had formerly been sent to Constantinople, now was used for expenditures in Palestine itself. The careful financial management inaugurated by Herbert Samuel not only succeeded in balancing the income and outgo of the budget, but also aroused such great confidence in the financial stability of Palestine that it was possible to float a loan of £4,500,000 in London under most favorable conditions, and that the introduction of the country's own currency in 1927 was achieved without difficulties of any sort.

THE measures taken by the government for the amelioration of sanitary conditions were adopted very effectively by the Jews in an even larger field. The Jewish National Fund carried out an extensive program of swamp drainage on the land it had acquired in the Emek Jezreel, much of which had been uninhabitable because of marshes and the prevalence of malaria. Not only the colonists on the land itself



CHALUTZOTH BUILDING AN AUTOMOBILE ROAD IN TEL AVIV



GIVING THE KISHON A NEW BED

Workmen engaged on the regulation of the course of the River Kishon, part of the anti-malaria drainage works carried out by the Jewish National Fund for the protection of the settlers on its lands which border this ancient stream

but the entire vicinity profited from this work. The American Zion Commonwealth drained some large marshes in its colony Herzlia by restoring an ancient tunnel used for that purpose by the Romans. The American medical organization Hadassah has done very much in the ten years of its activity for the care of the sick. It has endeavored to employ the most modern scientific methods in its hospitals in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Tiberias and Safed; and it maintains a medical service for the observation of all Jewish school children. Another group we must mention is the Kupat Cholim of the labor organization, whose membership had reached almost 15,000 in 1928, and whose hospital in Ain Harod (in the Emek) as well as its clinics and its sanatoriums have brought healing and comfort to its sick and convalescents. The unusual care given to infants is particularly worthy of note. The cities have special infants' homes, maintained by the Women's International Zionist Organization and by the organization of Palestinian women. The infants and mothers of the colonies are cared for by the Kupat Cholim. Thanks to these efforts the mortality of Jewish infants has grown much less, so that the low infant death-rate of the colonies compares favorably even with such countries as New Zealand, where this death-rate is the lowest on record.

THE backward character of the Turkish administration can best be conceived when we consider that before the World War Palestine had not a single telephone and no real roads. The delivery of telegrams and letters within the country—for foreign mail was attended to not by the Turkish post-office, but by the postal bureaus of the French, Austrians, Germans, etc.—was ridiculously unreliable. Rather than trust their mail to the Turkish post-office, people preferred to wait days and even weeks for some one who would deliver letters personally. Railway communication consisted only of a French line between Jaffa and Jerusalem, and that part of the Hedjaz railroad which went from Haifa to Semach (and Damascus). Thus traveling within the country was exceedingly difficult. To go from Jaffa to Jerusalem to Galilee required three days of thorough shaking-up in a diligence on the fearfully bad roads. Many colonies could not be reached by carriage at all, but had to be approached on horseback.

Here the British administration wrought radical changes. The excellently kept-up automobile roads of to-day, which would do honor to any European country, enable us to go from Jaffa to Jerusalem in 90 minutes, and from Jerusalem to Haifa or Tiberias in four or five hours. Telephone connections are to be found throughout the cities and in many of the colonies. The North and South of the country are now connected by the railway going from Egypt to Haifa. And a beginning has been made toward establishing communication by air, which will greatly accelerate

the postal service and travel between Palestine and Europe or Bagdad. The latter, which could formerly be reached only *via* Jaffa, Port Said, Suez, Aden and Basra, a trip that took two or three weeks, is now only six hours removed by aeroplane, or 36 hours by automobile from Palestine. The projected construction of a harbor in Haifa will make regular communication by sea possible in the winter also, while now it frequently happens that ships are unable to land in either Jaffa or Haifa in the winter time, so that travelers must go on to Beirut or Port Said, and thence proceed to Palestine by land.

Before the war public electric light and power-plants were non-existent here; the houses were illuminated by candles and petroleum lamps. Now the power-plants erected by Pinhas Rutenberg in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Tiberias have provided these cities and their vicinity with electricity. And before long Rutenberg's great power-plant on the Jordan will give electric current to the entire country. Another electric plant is now being built in Jerusalem. Moreover, the construction of an aqueduct from Wadi Fara has solved the water problem of this city.

The constantly growing number of tourists has led to the building of large, modern hotels. The cities, whose most prominent features used to be the churches and monasteries, now present monumental non-religious edifices to our view. Tel Aviv has its modern theatres and cinemas. And music, too, flourishes here, the first school of music, *Shulamith*, having been opened in 1910; since then it has been followed by others. World-renowned musicians like Heifetz, Godowsky, Hubermann, Sauer and Marteau have found an unusually receptive public in Palestine.

EDUCATION

ONE of the greatest victories of the last quarter century is the triumphal march of the Hebrew language. This was the achievement of the fanatic zeal of individual Zionists, such as Eliezer Ben Yehudah, who made it their life's work to restore Hebrew as the speech of everyday life. One of their most important methods was the adoption of Hebrew as the language of instruction in the schools. It was not easy to carry this through; for Palestine already had the schools of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, where instruction was carried on in French, the English Evelina de Rothschild School, and the schools of the German-Jewish *Hilfsverein*, which taught in German. These schools attracted many children because there they would learn one of the great cultural languages, which would be of considerable advantage to them in later life. Hebrew, on the other hand, was limited to the small group of Palestinian Jewry, and, from the point of view of utility, could not compare with English, French or German. These utilitarian considerations, however, were eventually swept away by the realization that without Hebrew the Jews of Palestine would be differentiated into various groups, that the Hebrew language was the *conditio sine qua non* of national Jewish life in Palestine. The founding of the Odessa Committee's Hebrew Girls' School in Jaffa in 190[illegible] was followed, three years later, by the opening of the Hebrew *Gymnasium*. When, in 1913, the German Jewish *Hilfsverein* refused to accede to the demands of the Palestinian teachers that Hebrew be adopted as the language of instruction in the main courses given at its college and its *Technicum* in Haifa, there arose such a storm of protest throughout the country that Hebrew schools sprang up overnight—lack of money and of a program notwithstanding—and many children left the schools of the *Hilfsverein* for the new ones. Despite its small resources the Zionist Organization took these new schools under its aegis, and developed them systematically. In the school-year 1928-29 Palestine had 227 schools under Zionist auspices, and with Hebrew as the language of instruction (kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, teachers' seminaries, professional and trade schools); their pupils numbered 19,321, and their teachers 661. The cost of this school system amounted to 115,000 Palestinian pounds, about half of which was contributed by the Keren Hayesod. These schools have become the pillars of the Hebrew language in Palestine. It is due to them that Hebrew has become the current language among the Jews, and, particularly, among the youth, and that the schools of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* as well as the Evelina de Rothschild School have also become Hebraized to a very considerable degree. With the exception of about 400 Jewish pupils who attend English secondary schools or mission schools, all the Jewish children of Palestine are now being taught in schools whose instruction is carried on in Hebrew either exclusively or, as in the case of the *Alliance* and Evelina de Rothschild schools, in the most important subjects.

LAND PURCHASES

IN 1904 about 300,000 dunam of agricultural land in Palestine were in Jewish hands, largely through the purchases of Baron Rothschild and the ICA; this land lay in the coastal plain and in Lower and Upper Galilee. The Jewish National Fund began buying land in 1905. Since 1908 the Palestine Land Development Company has been very active in the acquisition of land for the Jewish National Fund and for other Jewish companies or private individuals. Its attention has been directed chiefly to the coastal plain and to the Emek Jezreel. After the war the American Zion Commonwealth appeared on the scene, purchasing large stretches of land in the Plain of Acco and the Emek Jezreel. Now, in 1929, the activity of these companies, together with some other smaller purchasers, has brought the amount of Jewish land in Palestine to about 1,100,000 dunam; thus the real property of the Jews has been almost quadrupled in this quarter century. About 400,000 dunam of this land belong to the ICA, 250,000 to the Jewish National Fund, and the remaining 450,000 dunam to the P[illegible]

ne Land Development Company, the American ion Commonwealth, and various other Jewish ompanies and private individuals. As of the total bout 25,000,000 dunam) land of Palestine only pproximately 8,000,000 dunam are suitable for cultiation, and as the Jewish land falls into this class most entirely, we see that the Jews now possess out 14 per cent. of the cultivable land of the country. In addition to this agricultural land considerable nounts of urban and suburban real estate in Jaffa, rusalem and Haifa have, through the activity of e Jewish National Fund and the Palestine Land evelopment Company, gone over into Jewish hands. hus provision was made for sufficient land for new ouses for a large increase in the Jewish population.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

THE population of the Jewish agricultural colonies, - which amounted to 12,000 at the beginning of the ar, was fixed at 30,500 by the census of 1927, and is timated to-day at 33,000, divided among a hundred so colonies. The principal source of income of the wish agricultural industry is orange-growing; this followed by the dairy industry, wine-growing, ultry-breeding and the raising of vegetables. The eat profits brought in by orange plantations have ready been mentioned. But much progress has also been made in the production of milk and eggs, due to the introduction of the best breeds of cows and chickens. A constantly growing proportion of the milk, eggs, vegetables and fruit consumed by the Jewish urban population is now being provided by Jewish producers. The colonies of the Jordan Valley furnish early vegetables not only to Palestine, but to Damascus and Beirut as well, and command high prices. In addition, the cultivation of bananas in the Jordan Valley has also proved very lucrative.

Industry, which is concentrated largely in Haifa and Tel Aviv, is now producing many things that formerly had to be imported from abroad. The most important of these is cement, 70,000 tons of which, corresponding to a value of over £200,000, are now being produced by the Nesher works; other items are refined flour and matzoth, toilet soaps, food oils, knit goods, hosiery, furniture, etc. The Jews have also entered the fishing industry, and have taken up the smoking of fish. Besides, pumps and agricultural machinery are constructed and repaired. To-day almost 10,000 Jewish workers are engaged in the various branches of industry, while their number before the War was only a few hundred.

Before the World War, again, it was very unusual to see a Jew employed in public works (road-building, etc.) or in the building trades. It was only



TREET CORNER IN THE ALL-JEWISH CITY OF TEL AVIV, FOUNDED TWENTY YEARS AGO

after the War that the newly arrived Chalutzim energetically turned to this field, so that Palestine now has experienced Jewish workers in every phase of building, and all Jewish construction work is now being done by Jewish labor.



THE HERZLIA GYMNASIUM IN TEL AVIV

WOMAN IN AGRICULTURE

THE success of the agricultural colonist is determined not only by his own fitness for the work, but by that of his wife as well. Settlers whose wives are inefficient or discontented cannot make progress however great their exertions. When the first Zionist settlements centering about dairying were established, a German colonist said to me: "You have arranged everything very nicely. But where will you get women who will get up at three o'clock every morning to milk the cows?" And, as a matter of fact, we keenly felt the lack of agriculturally trained women at every step. In the old plantation colonies, which did not concern themselves with poultry-raising, the growing of vegetables or the dairy, this lack had not been so perceptible. But in the farms of mixed activities, where the care of the poultry yard, the vegetable garden and, to some extent, of the cow barn devolved upon the woman, a wife who was not qualified for such tasks spelled the doom of the colonist. Yet how could the settlers have properly qualified wives? There was not one such woman in the entire country. We had to train them. (The agricultural school of Mikveh Israel trained only boys.) Then, in 1910, Hannah Schochat-Meisel, who had studied agriculture in France, came to Palestine with the intention of finding some place where she could give agricultural training to girls. She approached the Palestine Office, which realized the importance of the matter, although the problem of whence to obtain the necessary funds seemed beyond solution. Finally I succeeded in obtaining a few rooms and a little land for her in the colony Kinnereth; and the Berlin *Kulturverband* of Jewish women furnished us with several thousand *francs*. This was the beginning of agricultural training for girls.

Frau Schochat's path was not strewn with roses. Again and again she encountered obstacles—lack of funds, lack of understanding, the exceedingly small area of the land at her disposal. But she lost neither her patience nor her perseverance. And when, after the purchases made in the Emek in 1921, Nahalal was founded, she immediately presented her demand that a suitable stretch of land be set aside for an agricultural school for girls. Her request was granted; the land was furnished by the Jewish National Fund, and the money for th building of the scho was given by the Zioni Organization and th Women's Internation Zionist Organizatio To-day 60 girls are bein trained in Nahalal. Th Women's Internation Zionist Organizatio is expecting to establis a teaching-farm for gir in Ness Ziona in the ne future. A considerab number of young wome are working in *kvutzo hapoaloth* (girls' group and *mishke hapoaloth* (girls' farms). Thus woma has entered agriculture and, by her industry an devotion, has so proved her worth that no one no greets her efforts with a deprecating smile. In addi tion, the Women's International Zionist Organiz tion opened a domestic science school in Tel Avi in 1920; the graduates of this school have notabl improved the cuisine of the agricultural colonie Only those who know how greatly the health an expenditures of the settlers depend upon the prop choice of food can fully appreciate the significance this improvement. But much still remains for th Women's International Zionist Organization to d in this field and in the teaching of household hygien

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

THE beginning of the co-operative system among th Jews of Palestine goes back to the Turkish perio although the Ottoman laws did not touch upon th domain. Thus Baron Rothschild gave over the gre wine-cellars that he had built to a society of win growers. Similarly, the first loan and buildin associations, as well as the first agricultural co operative societies, were established under Turkis rule. But they had no legal basis, so that they coul neither sue nor be sued in the courts of the land. Th only influence they could exert in case of conflict wa moral. This circumstance naturally impeded the development. It was only in 1921, when Herbe Samuel regulated the co-operative societies by a la patterned after the most modern European legisl tion, that they began to grow by leaps and bounds.

Savings and loan societies were founded in all th cities and in the larger of the colonies; these *halvaa vehissachon* granted loans for as much as £25 for year's time, and soon counted thousands of member Many building societies, co-operative marketin societies and associations of artisans also arose. Th Workers' Bank, founded in 1921, and the Centr Bank of Co-operative Societies aided these association

Among the Arabs the co-operative system is sti in the initial stage; but among the Jews it has reache so high a degree of development that almost the enti

ilk supply and a large part of the orange crop is ow being marketed through co-operative societies. he total membership of all these Jewish associations nounted to 35,000 in 1929, and their combined ıpital was more than half a million pounds sterling. this course is continued Palestine may well become ıe foremost co-operative country of the world.

POPULATION STATISTICS

THE following table gives comparative figures for the Jewish population of Palestine:

ear	Old *Yishuv*	New *Yishuv*	Total	Percentage of Total Population
55	11,000	......	11,000	4
80	32,000	2,000	34,000	9
04	45,000	15,000	60,000	9
14	55,000	30,000	85,000	11
18	35,000	25,000	60,000	10
22	35,000	49,000	84,000	11.1
29	35,000	127,000	162,000	18

Here we see that the Jewish population increased onsistently not only in its absolute numbers, but so in the percentage of the total population which comprised. The only exception is that of the war eriod, when famine, pestilence and expulsion greatly duced the number of Jews.

The following percentages of the Jewish population ere included in the old *Yishuv:* 1855, 100%; 1880, 4%; 1904, 75%; 1914, 65%; 1918, 58%; 1922, 42%; 929, 22%.

In 1929 the Jews of Jerusalem numbered 55,000; Tel Aviv, 40,000; of Jaffa, 7,000; of Haifa, 16,000; Tiberias, 7,000; of Safed, 3,000; of Hebron and other owns, 1,000; of the agricultural colonies, 33,000; ving a total of 162,000.

The growth of the Jewish population is due largely immigration, although some of it is derived from ıe excess of births over deaths. The immigration atistics, kept only since 1922, are as follows:

ear	Jewish Immigration	Jewish Emigration	Excess
22	7,844	1,503	6,341
23	7,420	3,465	3,955
24	12,856	2,037	10,819
25	33,800	2,150	31,650
26	13,080	7,365	5,715
27	2,713	5,071	−2,358
28	2,178	2,178	0
1922–1928	79,891	23,769	56,122

This table shows a sudden rise in the excess of nmigration from 10,819 in 1924 to 31,650 in 1925. ut there was no possibility for so large a number of nmigrants, most of whom had little or no capital their own, to find a livelihood in Palestine. As result we had the "crisis" of 1926 and 1927, in hich many of the immigrants, as "unemployed," ere reduced to public doles and to work on special obs created for the emergency, or else were forced to leave the country. Not before the end of 1928 did the country absorb the immigration of 1925, so that room was made for a new influx. The lesson which the future must learn from the experience of 1925 is that Palestine offers its immigrants no ready-made means of livelihood, but that we must create such opportunities in our agriculture and industry. This requires a good deal of capital, which must either be brought in by the immigrants themselves, or put at their disposal by some outside agency.

The birth-rate of Palestine is the highest of the world, among both Jews and non-Jews. The rate per 1,000 inhabitants is:

	1923–1926	1927
Jews	38.1	35.1
Non-Jews	52.4	52.8
Jews and non-Jews combined	50.0	50.3

Here it may be interesting to note that in Western and Central Europe the birth-rate among the Jews maintains an average of from 12 to 15, while in Eastern Europe it varies between 20 and 25.

The following figures give the Palestinian death-rate per 1,000 of population:

	1923–1926	1927
Jews	14.3	13.4
Non-Jews	27.7	30.4
Jews and non-Jews combined	25.6	28.0



THE ROTHSCHILD HOSPITAL IN JERUSALEM

Thus the excess of births over deaths in Palestine in 1927 amounted to 21.7 per 1,000 inhabitants among the Jews, and 22.4 per 1,000 among the non-Jews. The Jewish population was increased by only 3,195 while the number of non-Jews was augmented by 14,192. The Jews, therefore, must bring 11,000 immigrants into the country every year merely to keep pace with the natural increase of the non-Jewish population.

THE FUTURE

THERE is no doubt that as the country develops economically Palestine, which to-day numbers only 40 inhabitants to the square kilometer, will eventually be able to feed a population twice or even three times as great as at present. The question of the extent and tempo in which the Jews will fill these empty spaces depends principally on the financial means at the disposal of the immigrants or the Zionist Organization. If the establishment of the new Jewish Agency doubles the income which the Zionist funds have been receiving heretofore, we may hope that the excess of immigration—which brought an annual average of 8,000 Jews to Palestine from 1922 to 1928—will also be doubled within the next seven years, and later, perhaps, will rise to an even higher figure. For it is characteristic of Jewish immigration into any country that it proceeds very slowly at the beginning, but is accelerated after the initial difficulties have been overcome. By immigration and the natural increase of population, therefore, the number of Jews in Palestine may reach almo 400,000 by 1940; and this would mean that the Jev would then make up approximately a third of the tot population. A similar or even greater increase cou easily be effected in the decade beginning with 194

And when may we expect the Jewish Nation Homeland to be established in Palestine? Some w say that it exists even now, for the 162,000 Jews the speak Hebrew and enjoy complete cultural autonom Others, again, will not regard the Jewish Homelar as secured until the Jews constitute a majority of tl total population. Still others will demand even mor that a large proportion of all the Jews in the wor must be in Palestine before it can be considered tl Jewish National Homeland. We, however, belie that the establishment of this Homeland is not a sing act, but a process whose beginning lies behind u while its completion is still a matter of the dista future. The birth of our National Homeland does n have to wait for the moment when we receive tl assurance of international recognition, or when v outnumber the non-Jews of the country. It alreac exists in its beginnings. For even to-day the Jews Palestine have a legal right to live a national life their own; furthermore, a by no means negligib portion of world Jewry now regards Palestine as i National Homeland, and this Homeland is commen ing to occupy a prominent position in Jewish inte lectual life. But decades and, perhaps, generatio will pass before the work of firmly establishing the beginnings shall have been consummated.



AT THE KALBE SHEVUAH

Herzl at the Tomb of the Kings on His Visit to Jerusalem

Zionism In America

A Chronicle of Its Development

By ABRAHAM GOLDBERG

istant from the agitation which disturbed the Zionist world of Europe, rican Zionism had a different course of development, though not unin- ced by Theodor Herzl. In this brief account of the major events and ipal tendencies which characterized the history of Zionism in the ed States, the author has sketched incidents and described person- es for a better understanding of the entire scene. Zionism found ession in this country before Herzl's call for American delegates to First Congress, but his interpretation of the Zionist idea stimulated novement and secured for it the adherence of men and women who gave gth and vitality to its development.

THE progress of a movement is perhaps most ably and appropriately recorded by its leader, by the man at the wheel who, from his vantage- nt, is able to observe clearly every move made, ry inch gained. My friend and colleague, Louis sky, should therefore have written this review American Zionist activities; he was personally cerned in practically all of the important Zionist nts of the past twenty-five years. But since ous illness has prevented him from writing article, I shall attempt to substitute for him.

ly purpose here will be not to present a minute trayal of the period, but to indicate the more ificant tendencies, the high lights as it were, of erican Zionism. I shall try to be as objective s consistent with the rôle I played; for I was not lisinterested spectator. I was never neutral, ays expressing my passionate convictions on all es. So that it is impossible for me to keep my victions from coloring this unt. Insofar as is possible all try to be fair to all s.

spite of Nordau's famous prophetic statement: onism's only hope is Ameri- Jewry," and in spite of the that Herzl himself had al- s looked forward to visit- these shores in anticipa- of a great future here, rican Zionism did not at look at all promising. It its origin, as is well known, ng Reform Jews. Of the leaders there were Rabbi av Gottheil, Rabbi Fel- nal, Rabbi Szold and Louis Dembitz. Of the younger there were Dr. Stephen S. , Rabbi Max Heller and i Max Raisin. Later Dr. ard Gottheil and Cyrus berger joined the ranks.



ABRAHAM GOLDBERG

This group constituted a sort of forerunner of the Jewish Agency, even at that early date.

But these were solitary Zionists. Reform Jews generally were unimpressed, in spite of the galaxy of venerable leaders. Officially Reform Judaism was not only indifferent, but actually hostile. The late Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, its dean and spokesman, publicly declared Zionism a heresy—let alone un- patriotic. His classic phrase was: "The Zionist who clamors for a specific Jewish land does not under- stand the design of God and the nature of Judaism." Nor was the Reform pulpit the only obstacle in the way of Zionism. There was also the powerful group of wealthy Jews, headed by Jacob Schiff—a loyal national Jew, though he would have balked at the designation; a fact which rendered this opposi- tion the more difficult to overcome.

Neither were the masses of Jewish workers stirred by Zionist hopes. Not that they were lacking in idealism—they were at the time immersed in pleasant dreams of international amity. They reapportioned and reorganized the nations of the entire globe, but forgot to reserve a nook for the Jewish nation. As preached by its early leaders, Zionism was under- stood to be synonymous with assimilation; Judaism as a national entity was to vanish. Naturally, the Orthodox Jews were so shocked and frightened that they hurled imprecations at the very name of Zionism, the blasphemous destroyer of the traditional faith. There were however a few Rabbis who were friendly; among them were Rabbi Levinthal in Philadel- phia, Rabbi Schaffer in Balti- more, Rabbi Ashinsky in Pitts- burgh, Rabbi Ginsberg in Rochester, Rabbi Schoenfeld in Milwaukee, Rabbi Estersohn and the Sephardic Rabbi Pereira Mendes in New York. In gen- eral, however, the Rabbis op- posed Zionism. It seemed as if conservative and radical, Orthodox and Reform, all were determined to prevent the new ideal from taking root.

INSTEAD of the heart-warm- ing welcome it had so fondly anticipated, Zionism met only scowls everywhere. Strangely



Dr. Harry Friedenwald

enough, in the year of Herzl's death matters took a turn for the better, although there were as yet no material gains, no sudden victories. The indefatigable Rev. Z. H. Masliansky preached Zionism to the Jewish masses. From abroad came Joseph Zev—the popular orator—for the express purpose of winning converts to Zionism, and also Jacob de Haas, a staunch follower of Herzl and a believer in the Jewish State. The Zionist forces were revived and reorganized.

Some of the younger men were attracted to the organization, Louis Lipsky among them. Though his parents were East European, he himself was native American, an English litterateur; so that it was impossible to put him off with the argument that Zionism was out of place in America. He represented a new type of Zionist, trained in American institutions, educated in American schools. To this group Zionism was a purely political venture. Ahad Ha-amism was not a popular cause then—not even a familiar one, since Ahad Ha-am had not yet been translated into English.

It was the idea of establishing a Jewish government that struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the generation brought up on romantic tales of the American pioneer spirit. In their eagerness they were not ashamed to learn from European Herzlists. One of their teachers was the chemist, Boris Kazman. He was not an eloquent speaker—was in fact obscure and inarticulate—but his very vagueness gave him added charm; it rendered transparent the rock-bottom purity of his character. Uncompromising in his love of Zion, volcanic of temperament, he greatly influenced the young Zionists.

The Uganda project, so destructive to European Zionism, left the American movement unharmed. There was, however, no enthusiasm for it; a "show me" attitude prevailed. The American leaders remained loyal to Herzl, rallying to his support when he was attacked by East European Zionists. These young men were something new in Zionism; on the one hand, they were sons of East Europeans, under the influence of Eastern Jewry; and on the other hand, they favored Herzl's methods, which typi the West. They were unmoved by the charges "despot" which were hurled at Herzl. To them seemed a leader responsible for his actions to Congress. Unwilling to see the plans of a cl executive hampered by the nebulous mouthings the impractical idealists in the Actions Commit they favored an extension of his powers in the terim between Congresses. Later, at the New Y Kehillah, these youthful Zionists were loud in tl demands for "democracy," turning against leaders who ignored the wishes of the legisla body. But such is politics. Opinions change.



Prof. Richard Gotthe

Zionist activities at time consisted mainly propaganda and polem On the one hand th were the hostile W European Jews, who clared Zionism a against patriotism; t there were the East Eu pean Jews, who con ered it a sin against *Shulchan Aruch.* To- it will seem incred that once prominent c zens hotly debated question as to wheth Zionist could also b good citizen.

The solution offered Ahad Ha-am—that Pa tine would be a spirit center rather than a g ernment—was not wid known then. One of first Ahad Ha-amists the country was Dr. J Magnes. He rarely m use of the word "nati since it has, in Englis political connotat aside from its purely nic sense. Instead,

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A TRIBUTE TO HERZL

By RICHARD GOTTHEIL

Professor Gottheil of Columbia University was the first President of the Federation of American Zionists, and has written a book on Zionism. Professor Gottheil was in Europe when he was asked for a contribution to the Herzl Memorial Volume, and had not the opportunity for a more extensive article.

I HARDLY dare to put pen to paper and to say a word about Herzl, in the fear that that pen would run away with me and that I should put down something so extravagant that the very memory of the great leader would call me to order. And yet, I cannot be absent from any memorial, even only in writing, that is set up to the great leader in Israel. He is one of the greatest that we have produced during the long period of our history—a second Moses pointing the way to the Promised Land.

I came into personal contact with him at the Second Congress; and I was so impressed with him that I said: "When I get back to the United States, you may cable me to do anything that is necessary. I shall try to do it—even if you ask me to stand upon my head." He laughed with his inimitable laugh, and understood that I looked upon him as my Master in his attempt to make his fellow Jews see and understand their real position in this world. And when Mrs. Gottheil and I went to Alt-Aussee to spend a week with him I saw that his character was not only grand but beautiful. May his memory remain that of one of the *Gedole Yisrael;* and may the Jews never forget the debt that they owe to this *Ish Ha-elohim*, this Man of God!

ke of the Jewish spirit, of the preservation of aism—terms more readily comprehended.

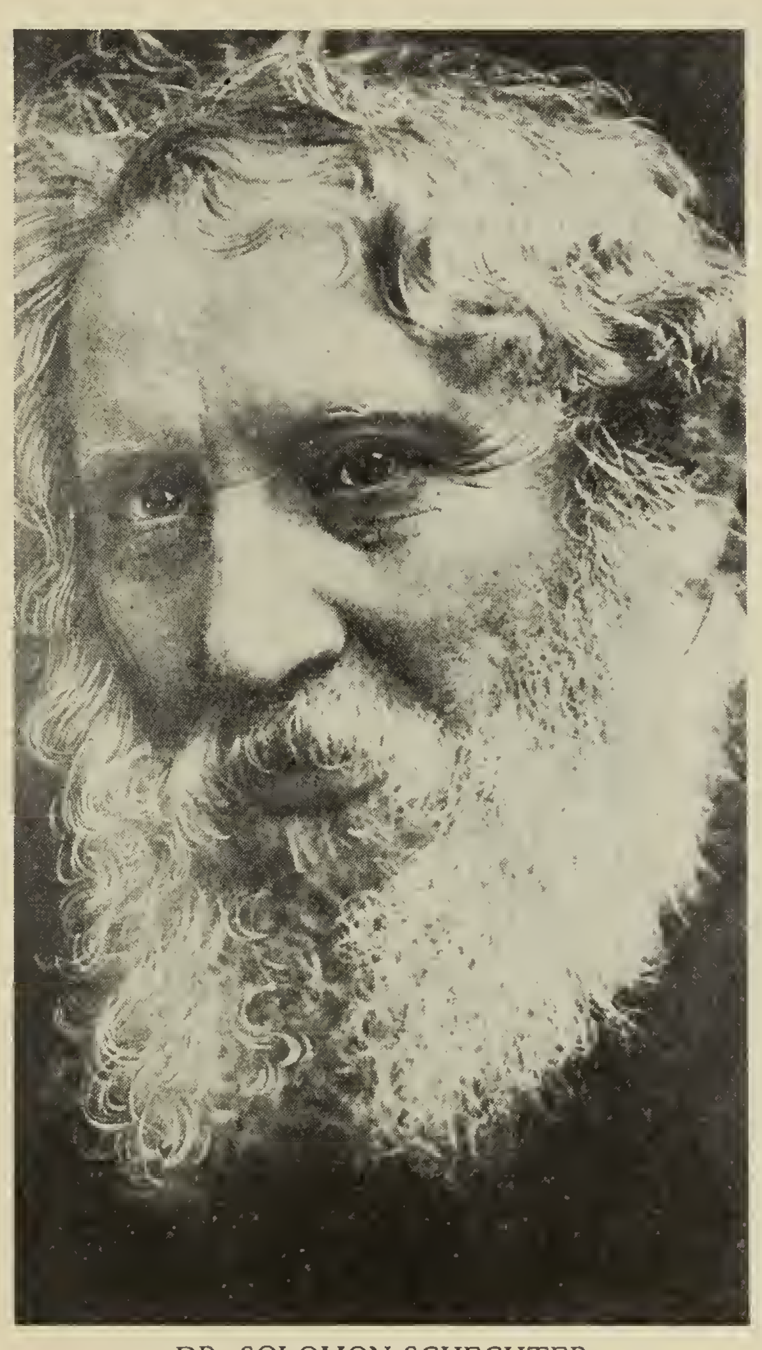
ne of his intimate friends was Dr. Harry Frieden-d, who had been elected shortly before Herzl's :h to the Presidency of the Zionist Organization, whose presidential message struck a new note, : of Ahad Ha-amism. The ranks of Cultural nism were further reinforced by Dr. Solomon echter and Dr. Israel Friedlaender.

ACTIONS were soon formed. There were Political Zionists, Cultural Zionists and a sort of Center :y which formed a synthesis of the other two. because there were no Zionist publications—e from the *Maccabæan*—the differences between groups received only sporadic expression. It is resting to note that at the New York Convention n delegates voted against Dr. Magnes in the e of keeping an Ahad Ha-amist from the vice-idency.

leanwhile the Zionist ranks were being swelled the many thousands of immigrants from Russia, tria and particularly from Rumania. At the time ie Kishineff pogrom the Poale Zion group was inized. To differenti-between it and other on" organizations—Degel Zion, Atereth n, Ohave Zion—the d "radical" was gener-added. The Poale Zion ement was a protest nst those labor leaders were assimilationists preached anti-Zionism, 1 even anti-Semitism—sh anti-Semitism, ex-ragant though it ds.

though its founders : comparatively un-wn, the movement i its inception aroused bitter opposition of the ılist spokesmen. Inci-ally, it is an error to k, as some do, that it Dr. Chaim Zhitlovsky founded the national-novement among the sh workers. He was too deeply immersed oreading the doctrine ie social revolution, a rine concerned with relief of the Russian ınt. It was not till the : Zion movement had thoroughly organized that Zhitlovsky was of any service. The foundations were laid by Joseph Barondess, Dr. Leon Zolotoroff and Mr. Katz—the latter two being well-known anarchists. The poet Yehoash and Dr. Spivack joined the new organization; but they were in Denver, too far away to be active. In New York there were A. Liessin, the playwright, L. Kobrin and Dr. Isser Ginsburg.

In the manner of David, the little movement challenged the established giants to public debate. The present writer, one of the Poale Zion organizers, joined in debate, among others, with Jacob Milch, Dr. Fishberg and Benevi, a leader of the Socialist Labor Party. One of these public debates was with Jacob Gordon, whose influence in Jewish life was considerable. In short, what with debates and mass-meetings, an aggressive spirit permeated the Zionist atmosphere. Slowly and steadily it conquered all strongholds. The first to capitulate was the Yiddish press, which had been rather unfriendly. Under the pressure of public opinion it became more Zionistic. In the various newspapers Zionist voices were heard. The older Zionist men of letters were reinforced.



DR. SOLOMON SCHECHTER

The Jewish fraternal orders—which, when not openly hostile, had been totally indifferent to Zionism—followed next. One after another they accepted the Basle program. Numerically they were not significant; but they served as a barometer of the growth of popular sentiment.

Zionists next turned to the field of education. There was the question of *ivrith b'ivrith*. The average Jew was not interested in more than a reading knowledge of Hebrew. Not so the Zionists. They envisioned a young generation capable and worthy of upholding its Jewish heritage. In the conflict that ensued triumph was with the Zionists. The older Zionist groups were more or less Americanized; as for the Lovers of Zion, of which I remember N. Chazan as the leading spirit, and the Sons of Zion, of which Jacob Siegel and my friend Jacob Fishman were members—the founders of these groups had become Zionists in this coun-



ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER

try. But there were more recent groups—like the Hatechiya, a Russian-speaking organization, and the Kadimah, an organization of Rumanian Jews and a group of Austro-Hungarian Zionists—who insisted on more Yiddish activities, more propaganda among the Jewish masses.

Many new organizations were formed. The *Mefitze Sefath Ever*—later the *Achi Ever*—was born then. Groups sprang up in Chicago and Philadelphia, many of the members of which are still active. The first active Hebrew *Folksshule*, which served as a model for all the others, was founded by Ch. Friedlander. The Sons of Zion was organized. There had previously existed a Western Order Knights of Zion, of which Leon Zolotkoff, B. Horwich and Max Shulman were the founders and chief leaders.

At the same time was organized the National Arbeiter Verband, which undertook to popularize nationalism among the workers. At that time too was formed the Dr. Herzl Club, which has since supplied us with a good many of our active workers and orators—men like Abba Hillel Silver, Emanuel Neumann and Barnett Brickner.

With the aid of Magnes and Friedlaender the Young Judæa was organized. Its mainstay, however, was David Sneerberg, a young man who applied himself with heroic self-sacrifice and determination. The success of Young Judæa was proof positive that Zionism was not confined to a moribund immigrant generation; that it had rooted itself firmly in the youth of the country.



HENRIETTA SZOLD
Leader of American Zionist Womanhood

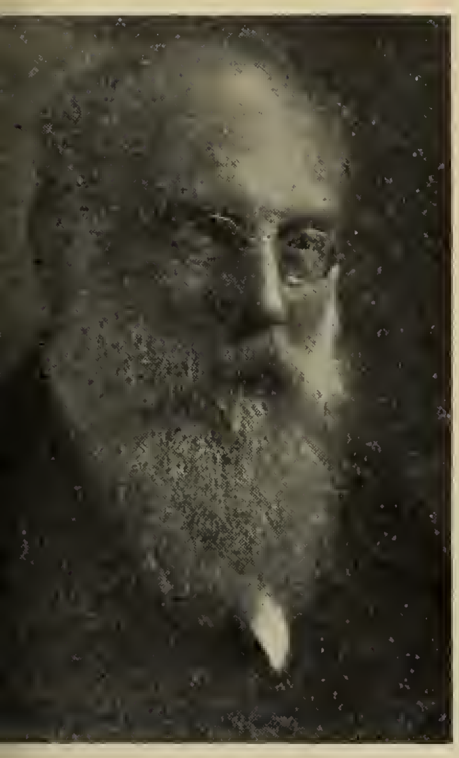
The Hadassah movement was organized through the initiative of Henrietta Szold, who had long been a significant force in Zionist activities, and who had indirectly been of service to the cause even while she had been taken up with literary work. She was at her best in the organization of the Hadassah, where she was the leader, the educator and the companion of her co-workers. Thousands women throughout the country looked up to as their ideal.



DR. DAVID NEUMARK

In brief, twenty-five years ago the sources contemporary Zionist tendencies were already cernible. Although Herzl's Zionist activity cov only nine years, a miraculous transformation come over American Jewry. Not a slight par this is due to the fact that every year thousand full-fledged Zionists, and even Zionist intellectu abandoned Europe for Ameri active workers of the type Lewin-Epstein, who was at same time a member of the A Ha-am group The Sons of M and an ardent Herzlist, ex enced in Palestinian affairs. He one of the organizers of Rehol and of the Carmel Wine Comp. and an intimate of Baron R schild.

The famous Hebrew litterat Reuben Brainin, settled here did Dr. Nachman Syrkin, great-souled dreamer and ar nationalist; and so did Dr. Ch Zhitlovsky, who preached a gressive nationalism to whic lent the prestige of his sch ship. There came men like V Lubarsky, one of the Cho Zionists; he served as connec link between the élite of Odes Ahad Ha-am, Lilienblum, B et al.—and the American H



DR. GOTTHARD DEUTSCH

ists, particularly at the Seminary, to the presidency of which Professor Solomon Schechter had recently been elected.

Schechter and the Seminary merit an important place in any estimation of the past twenty-five years of Zionist activity. He was himself an official Zionist; he even attended : Vienna Congress as a delegate. But his attitude s more embracing and profound than is indicated these acts. The Seminary actually marked a ning-point in the history of the movement; it s very effective in meeting the attacks of the anti- ›nist Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati. The ter was so bitterly opposed to Zionism that three its leading professors—Dr. Malter, Dr. Margolis l Dr. Schlesinger—were forced to abandon their sts because of their Zionist convictions. ıechter's Seminary, on the contrary, was the eting-place of the Zionist scholars—men like ıis Ginzberg, Israel Friedlaender, Prof. Mordecai Kaplan and Israel Davidson, who was an active ›nist at the time. The Seminary graduated ny young Rabbis who helped spread the Zionist al through the new synagogues and centers.

t should be remembered that Zionism as such es no definite attitude towards religion. The flict with Reform Judaism was not due to theo- ical differences, but to the antinationalist atti- e of the latter and its attempt to undermine many he cherished foundations of Jewish life.

n the struggle Zionism was defended by Schechter. ned with the latest weapons of Biblical research, was able to meet Reform leaders on their own und. Brilliant English stylist that he was, he ıkened the Reform position considerably; he posed it with certain inalienable principles of vish life, which were calculated to affirm the ntial unity of Israel. He began to speak of the holicity of the Jewish religion and to differentiate ween internal and external Reform—between a nvement like Chassidism and one that is a result of tation. His blows were devastating.

he Reform seminary, the Hebrew Union College, v; later forced to change its attitude, though ıfficially; it did not dismiss any other Zionistically inclined professors—on the contrary, it even invited so outspoken a Zionist as Prof. David Neumark into its midst. It was interesting to note the manner in which Prof. Gotthard Deutsch, one of the pillars of Cincinnati Jewry, was converted to Zionism in his later years. At the Zionist conventions he used to grace the seat of honor with his benign countenance. With his long, flowing white beard, he looked like an ancient sage. Here, too, mention must be made of the numerous journalists who settled in the United States, and who, though not avowed Zionists, helped create a nationalist atmosphere; some of them later joined the movement, as for example the playwright David Pinski.

THE more distinguished of the Zionist leaders who visited this country were of inestimable value in the spreading of propaganda. In 1909 occurred the rebellion of the Young Turks. This found the Zionist strategists unprepared. They had confidently awaited the decay of Turkey and had planned accordingly. When they realized that Turkey was being resurrected, they decided upon a complete shifting and revaluation of values. Ahad Ha-amism, which stressed immediate activity and the importance of small colonies, came to the fore. The Jews in Turkey, who had suddenly become the free citizens of a free government, took on importance in the Zionist scheme of things.

In America too there developed a sentiment in favor of immediate practical work in Palestine; the Political Zionists, though, were still a bit critical. The Achuza movement was created. Its founder was Simon Goldman, a dreamer who came from the practical world; he organized a chain of Achuzas which were to purchase large tracts of land in Palestine. The Zionist Administration- Louis Lipsky, its President; S. Abel; Bernard A. Rosenblatt, its Honorary Secretary; the present writer; and, for a while, Charles A. Cowen—was not unanimously agreed.

But the Achuza idea triumphed. Achuzas were organized in New York, in Chicago and in Texas—one of the New York Achuzas is still in existence and functioning very effectively. Zionism was evolving from a dream of the future into a



JOSEPH BARONDESS


JULIAN W. MACK

practical problem. The response was a noble one. Young men went to Woodbine and other agricultural institutes to prepare for agricultural work in Palestine; the Ikor Hatzair was formed. These were the first Chalutzim; among them was Eliezer Jaffe, one of the important labor leaders in Palestine, and the originator of the idea of workmen's settlements. There was a renewed interest in Palestine. Many visited the country and brought back glowing reports of its renaissance.

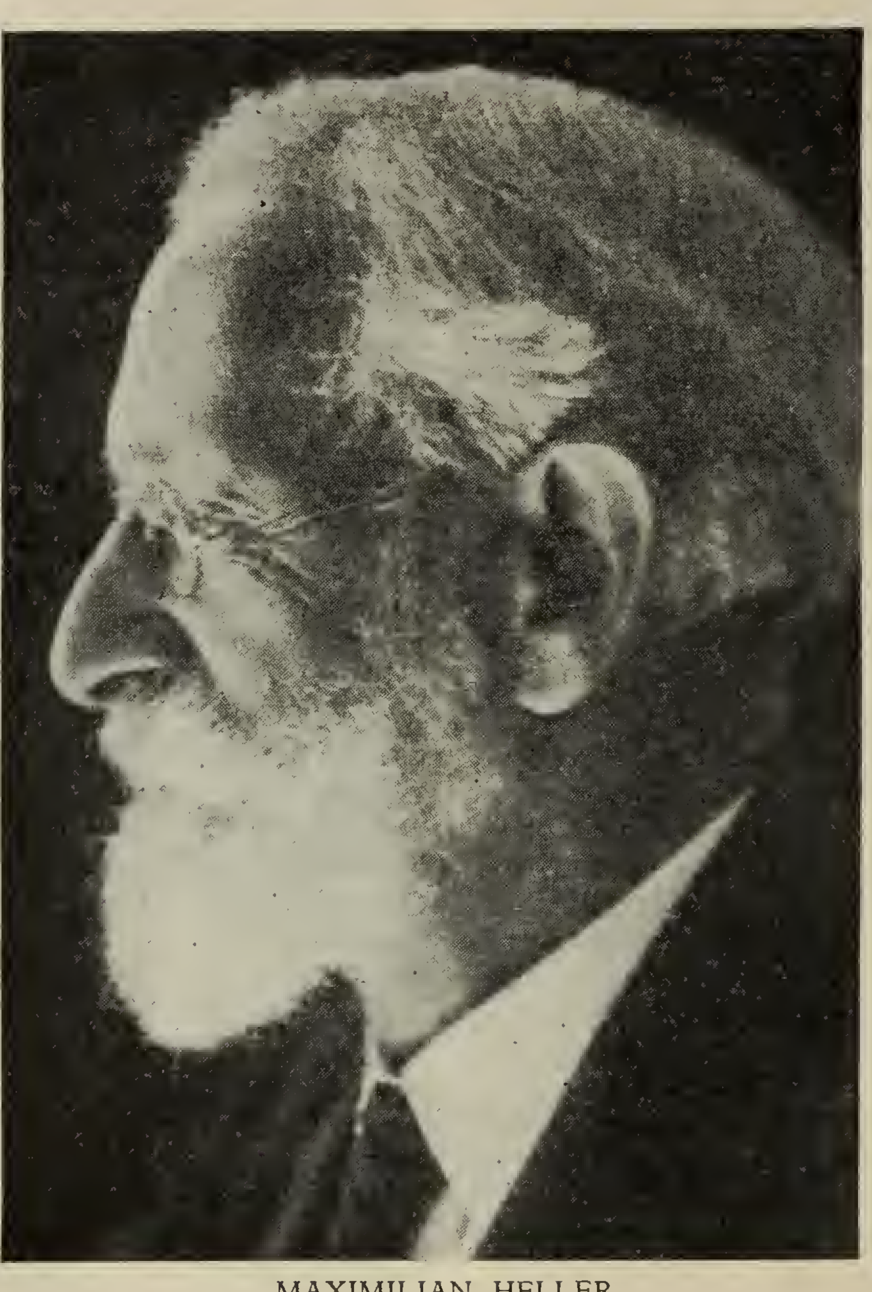
It was at this period that representatives of the New Jerusalem, inspired by the new Zionist vision, visited this country. Shoshana Buchmal came as the representative of a Turkish organization called Shiloh. Added to her ability as public speaker was the prestige that accrued from the fact that she came from "there"—an important consideration in the eyes of the Zionists whose thoughts always reverted to the Homeland. Dr. Mossinsohn came, representing the Herzlia *Gymnasium* in Tel Aviv; Boris Schatz, for Bezalel; and Dr. Shmarya Levin was here in behalf of the *Technicum*. Many who had formerly been either indifferent or unfriendly rallied to the support of these organizations.

Among those who enlisted their aid in behalf of Shmarya Levin's group were men as prominent as Jacob Schiff and Louis Marshall. In fact, Schiff presided at one of the meetings. Dr. Schulman—a bitter opponent—came to the aid of Mossinsohn; he even appeared at one of the Shalom Aleichem celebrations. Schatz too made many friends. Aaron Aaronsohn impressed the German-Jewish circles tremendously with his agricultural discoveries—so much so that Julius Rosenwald, the only one of the Jewish philanthropists to remain recalcitrant, offered to help Aaronsohn in his work.


LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

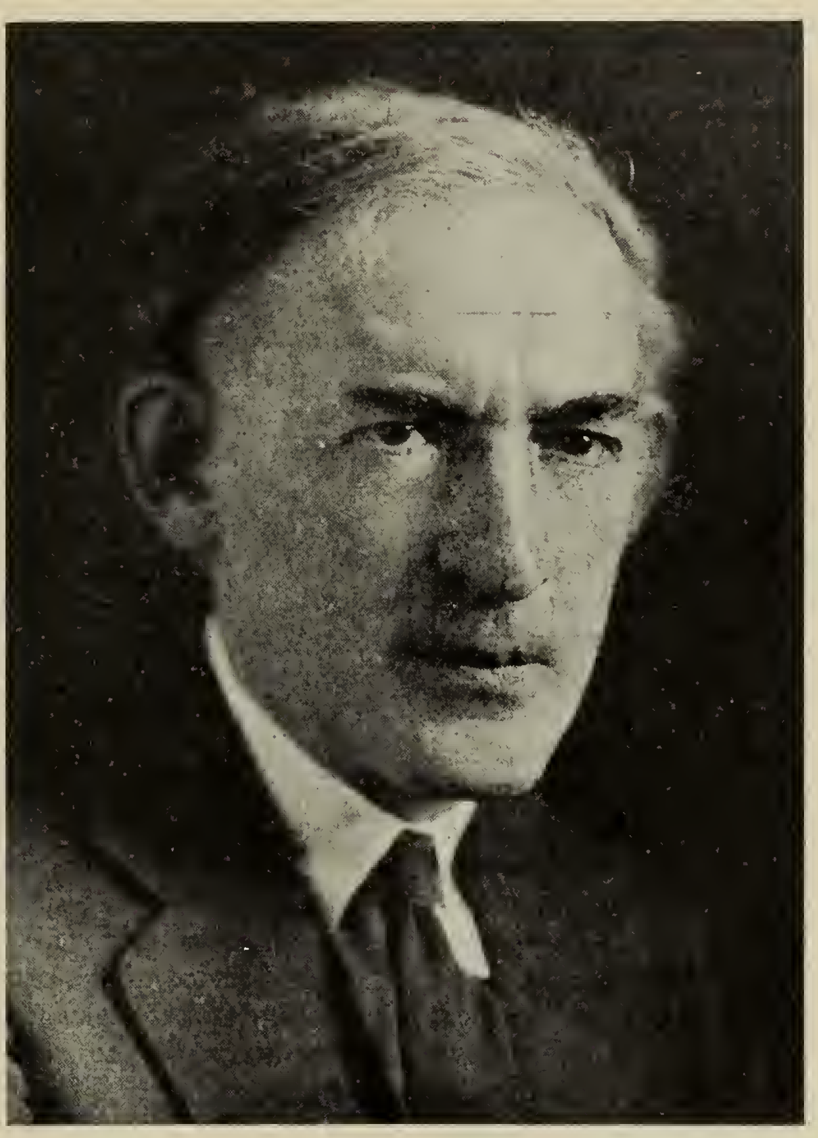
Shoshana Buchmal was accorded a reception by President Taft. Later Sokolow visited the country; he too received a royal reception, at which Dr. Schulman delivered an address. He aroused in the tho sands of *Hazefirah* readers a belief in the pos bilities of Palestine. He was accorded a recepti by Bryan, Secretary of State at the time. The rece tion had important consequences, for Bryan w converted to Zionism—though Zev, an old frie of his, was really the first to make any effort in tl direction.

Leon Chazanowitz and Kretchmar Israeli arrive for propaganda purpos They were influential many ways, but chie as publicists. There w a noticeable chan of attitude in the cou try, the change whi has since crystalliz into the Jewish Agen Thus the Strauses p claimed themselv Zionists, particular Nathan—and Osc was very sympathet Incredible though it w sound, Henry Morg thau was, in those da very close to Zioni In celebration of h appointment as A bassador to Turkey Zionists tendered h a banquet at whi Dr. Stephen S. Wise w present. It was, fact, Dr. Wise w had been instrumen in persuading Morg thau to accept the p for Zionist purpos The banquet was a q affair; all told there w about twenty prese Louis Lipsky was to master. Morgenth


MAXIMILIAN HELLER

omised to visit Palestine and to aid the Zionists Turkey; and he kept his promise.

At the time of Sokolow's visit word came from ston that Louis D. Brandeis had allied himself th Zionism. Bernard Richards had broached e matter to him in a letter to which Brandeis d replied sympathetically, indicating his interest the movement. At the meeting that was arranged Sokolow Brandeis definitely committed himself. even became interested in a million dollar oject for Palestine, which was initiated by . J. L. Magnes. Among others present at session was Felix rburg, who had already indicated his sire to help. Louis rshall kept himself the background, hough he aided Dr. ndlery in instituting *th b'ivrith* in synagues and Talmud rahs. What had rticularly endeared m to the Zionists who occasionally posed him—were s fiery addresses defense of Jewh rights and his acks on the Czarist gime and its persetion of the Jews. ever since the ys of Gabriel Kiess was such eloquence ard.



LOUIS LIPSKY

ZIONISM is so closely interwoven with the a of national self-conousness that the prog-s of the one depends on the other. Certain is that the idea of ionalism had made rapid progress. There were ny organizations that were instrumental in this pect. Nissim Behar, the American representative the *Alliance*, organized a federation of these organzations—a forerunner of the Kehillah. At the conences which they held passionate pleas were de for Zionism; in this manner the representatives the various Jewish groups were themselves ined to spread Zionist propaganda among their ups.

t is worth while pausing over an incident that l seem strange to-day. At the time when the Cons of the United States was discussing the question of unrestricted immigration and had appointed ommission to investigate the matter, Judge Julian W. Mack of the American Jewish Committee and Simon Wolf of Washington appeared before the commission—of which Henry Cabot Lodge was chairman—with the request that Jews be allowed to enter not as Jews but as citizens of their respective countries; that is, as Russians, Rumanians, etc. This was in accord with the old theory that there was no such thing as a Jewish nation; that there was only a Jewish religion, and since other immigrants are not admitted on the basis of their religions there should be no exception in the case of the Jews. No sooner had the news spread than the cry was raised that these men were ashamed of their Jewishness. What aggravated matters was the suggestion that Jews were to be recorded as citizens of Rumania or Russia—at a time when these were their chief persecutors.

At the convention of the Kehillah the Zionists stormed against Mack and, particularly, against the American Jewish Committee which he represented. They were irreconcilable, so that the Committee was forced to repudiate Mack and to say that he spoke for himself alone. And only a few years later Mack became the president of the Zionist Organization and one of the most ardent advocates of nationalism. Times change.

One of the interesting aspects of the matter was the fact that Senator Lodge sided with the Zionists; he argued that the Jews were not merely a religious sect but a nation, with a common history and a common racial heritage. He asked embarrassing questions: if the Jews were purely a religious entity, why were the names of Heine and Börne and Beaconsfield to be found in the *Jewish Encyclopedia?*

The last Convention that preceded the War was held in Rochester. Spiritually it had exceptional importance, though the attendance was small. Shmarya Levin, the guest of the Convention, was delighted with the proceedings. There was abundant evidence of the strength of the movement. Though no names were mentioned, it was evident that a new sort of Zionism had been created. Synthetic Zionism was the new note that appeared. Politically, there was a majority of Herzlists; nevertheless—as previous

Conventions indicated—they seemed to favor a program of immediate activity of a practical nature in Palestine. At one of the previous conventions a group of Ahad Ha-amists had presented a resolution calling for the omission of the words "secured by public law" from the Basle program, on the ground that they constituted an affront to the new Turkish government. The Herzlists opposed all changes in the wording; they argued that the Young Turks knew that the wording in a program is not made to suit any particular occasion, and that if their attitude were a just one there would be no necessity for "public law."

The Herzlists triumphed: the wording of the Basle program was not altered. On the other hand, the Herzlists lost out when they opposed the founding of the University in Palestine. Victory went to the other faction; though the opposing group also was essentially Herzlist—differing, however, from the others in matters pertaining to Palestine.

II

WHEN the World War came, in 1914, it found every one unprepared and bewildered; plans had to be left incomplete, points of view had to be adjusted. If this was true of most nations, it was doubly true of the Zionist Organization. No sooner had the latter adjusted itself to the unpleasant state of affairs created by the revolution in Turkey, than it was faced with this new upheaval, the consequences of which were unpredictable.

Amidst the chaos and confusion one thing seemed certain: American Zionists must prepare to assume the weight of leadership in the impending crisis. The United States was at the time the only neutral power whose wishes the combatant nations would respect. It seemed therefore clear enough that at the peace negotiations America would play an important rôle. The inference was that because of their political prestige American Jews would be in a position to demand, at the peace conferences, a consideration of their claims to Palestine. But in order to achieve this they had first to be organized.

Meanwhile Jewish sentiment was largely in favor of the Central Powers—Germany and Austria. Not that there existed any particular love for Germany, the home of scientific anti-Semitism, or for Wilhelm II. The Kaiser actually did not entertain any friendly feelings for the Jews and certainly not for Zionism, in spite of his early protestations of sympathy.

It was more the hatred of Haman than the love of Mordecai that prompted this sentiment. The Jews felt that disaster for Russia meant the liberation of seven millions of their co-religionists. As to what benefits would accrue to Zionism should Germany win, ideas were not very clear. They fondly hoped that somehow Turkey could be made to listen to reason.

There was, however, a minority of Jews, and more than a minority of American Zionists, who w convinced that it was the triumph of the Al which would be most beneficial to the cause; tha England won the odds favored a concomitant Zior triumph. Although there existed this difference opinion as to which side to favor, all Zionists w agreed that no matter which side won the War most important immediate step was to become org ized and to be on guard for developments that mi be of possible benefit to Zionism.

Fortunately Dr. Shmarya Levin, who had sai for Berlin shortly before war had been declar was forced to return to America when—war hav broken out—the British fleet pursued his ship. T Zionist administration resolved to make good of his enforced stay. At a conference at which was present it was decided that in his capacity member of the World Executive Dr. Levin sho issue a call for a conference of all the Zionist gro in the country for the purpose of forming a co mittee which would assume the responsibility uniting the various Zionist factions, so as to pres a united front in the critical period ahead. At conference the Provisional Zionist Committee, wh played so important a rôle both in the war per and in the peace negotiations that followed, w established. The appeal which Dr. Levin publi released, and which stressed the seriousness of situation and its possibilities for the future of Zi ism, resulted in an interested response from Zion throughout the country, including many who l previously been either half-hearted or frankly different.

It was already noticeable at the conference t Zionism was not as feeble as it appeared to some of discouraged adherents. There were Zionists and w wishers in all circles; it lacked only the felt need, critical occasion, for all these energies to be harnes in the service of the cause. When what looked l an era of hope was ushered in the response came fr all corners of the country. Among those pres were Stephen S. Wise, Horace Kallen, Jacob de Ha Harry Friedenwald, Henrietta Szold, E. W. Lew Epstein and many others. Louis D. Brandeis w there by special invitation. The Administrati which had officially aided in the organization of conference, declared its willingness to surrender authority. The Provisional Committee, which cluded most of the important personages, was hea by Louis D. Brandeis.

It is not exaggerating to say that those days w historic in more than one respect. An adequ delineation of the period would fill a volume. task here is not that of chronological descripti I can only indicate some of the salient incidents.

IT was becoming evident that the fifteen years American Zionist activity, which seemed m circumscribed and barren to the active worl themselves, were really not so ineffective. The se

d taken root and were near the surface of the soil, king only the stimulus of rain to burst forth. The ır supplied the needed stimulus.

[t was further evident that although American onism seemed an undifferentiated mass, it was litical Zionism that had most adherents and that cited the warmest response.

At the sessions of the Provisional Committee the estion of a sympathetic attitude toward either the ntral Powers or the Allies was not openly discussed. was, however, becoming more and more evident ıt the general tendency was to unite the fortunes Zionism with the fate of the Allies. Officially, of ırse, nothing was said about it. Palestine was at : time completely under the control of Turkey— vays sympathetic to and finally an ally of Ger- ny — and the situation demanded tact and dis- tion. The most important task then confronting : Provisional Committee was to prevent the destruc- n of the Settlement—a very delicate matter, since ›se were the days of the untrammeled dictatorship Kemal Pasha, whose slightest word was sufficient undermine the results of twenty-five years of vish effort.

ince the United States was neutral, the Provisional nmittee could take advantage of its prestige with t government to step forward as protector of the 'ish Settlement in Palestine. It is no exaggeration ay that were it not for the Provisional Committee nd here due credit must be accorded the administra- ı of President Wilson—the Settlement would oubtedly have been destroyed.

'he reports that came from that region were dis- eting; the most desirable inhabitants were mi- ting. All Zionist activities were declared in flict with the law of the land. However, when ›ecame known to Turkey and to her ally—Ger- ıy—that the United States was interested in the fare of the Jews in Palestine and would view with avor any attempt to harm them, their attitude nged considerably.

'he Provisional Committee did not stop at mere itical intervention, but undertook to relieve the sical wants of the impoverished Palestinian Jews. ɔrmous sums were needed, and at a time when the t European Jews were unable and the German s were unwilling to help. Nevertheless the money forthcoming. Brandeis set the fashion; others owed his example. From year to year the sums ected grew larger. The influence of the Com- tee spread rapidly.

ropaganda tours were arranged; Brandeis, Dr. e, Dr. Levin and many of the lesser leaders toured country. Palestine became the vital topic of the . Through the influence, direct and indirect, of Zionist Organization, the Jewish press gradually red its attitude towards the Allies; a wave of pro- es sentiment swept through the community.

multaneously, a considerable stir was created by problem of establishing an American Jewish Congress. The idea was not altogether a novel one; years ago it had been advocated by Abraham Shomer, by Dr. Syrkin and by Nathan Birnbaum when he visited this country. But in the ante-bellum period it had seemed Utopian. At the outbreak of the War there was an uncritical acceptance of Utopias in general, so that the Utopia of a Jewish Congress demanded its right to existence along with the others.

The Provisional Committee at first assumed a criti- cal attitude towards the movement. Propaganda for the Congress, however, continued unabated, winning new adherents all the time. From its inception it had had the sympathy of all the radical Zionists. On the other hand, the American Jewish Committee was known to frown upon the movement and, in fact, to be strongly opposed to the whole idea.

In the last analysis it depended upon the atti- tude of the Provisional Committee; if the Zionist Organization should decide to remain neutral the whole movement would collapse. Accordingly attempts were made to enlist the Organization's support. Opinions were divided. There was a strong group of Zionists who, anxious to avoid a clash with the American Jewish Committee, urged the Organization to remain neutral.

The definitive opinion was to be expressed by Bran- deis. He studied the matter thoroughly and, according to his custom, gave no indication—not even to his intimates—as to what his conclusion would be. On the way to the Boston Convention in 1915 not even the Zionists knew what was in store for the Jewish Congress. Until the last minute the tension was enormous. Before the Convention was opened Brandeis discussed the matter with some twenty of the leading Zionists in a private conference. When, after weighty arguments pro and con, Brandeis decided in favor of the Congress, its fate was sealed. The news spread rapidly among the delegates. Since Brandeis favored the Congress, Dr. Wise, Frieden- wald and the other important leaders followed suit; the resolution recommending the creation of the Congress was passed without serious debate, and was hailed with enthusiasm by the entire Jewish commun- ity. There was something magical about the very name.

ZIONISM was greatly strengthened by the Con- gress, since those who became interested in the latter inevitably assumed a friendly attitude toward Zionism. So that, in accordance with the general expectation, the Convention was followed by a period of conflict between Zionists and the group—boasting many a famous name—opposed to the Congress. Although the newer problem was more prominent in the discussion, many of the older issues were thrown in. There was the question of nationalism. Reform Jews continued to oppose what to them seemed the absurd notion of the exist- ence of such an entity as a Jewish nation.

Then there was the question as to what it was that the Jews in Eastern Europe were to obtain: national rights or the rights of citizenship? The whole problem was strange to the non-Zionists, who could not conceive of anything beyond citizenship rights that Jews could demand. Men like Lucien Wolf in England had a more profound understanding of the problem because of their proximity to the scene of action. Wolf had observed the example of ante-bellum Austria, where, to a certain extent, the principle of national rights had been established. But in America the matter seemed a Zionist sophism, a formula invented solely for the purpose of annoying non-Zionists.

The Congress issue made it possible, by a count of votes, to measure the precise strength of each side. One of two results was inevitable: either the non-Zionists would concede the existence of a Jewish nationality and the justice of our claims to Palestine, in which case the struggle would be at an end; or hostilities would cease only after a Zionist triumph—and the other group would completely lose its power to influence Jewish life.

There were those who tried to conciliate the opposing factions; but there were others who were anxious to accentuate the differences and to prolong the struggle until the non-Zionists would be eliminated entirely. But, after all, the latter had often earned the gratitude of the masses by staunchly insisting on their rights. Once more the scales were balanced in Brandeis' hands. Should he decide upon a war to the finish, war it would be in spite of the peace-loving members of his group. At first he seemed inclined towards an internecine struggle; but later he relented, and the peace party won the upper hand.

The opposing camp, which had at first proved adamantine, was forced by the expressed opinions of all, by the popular acclaim and enthusiasm, to yield. After protracted debate it agreed to a compromise which, if the truth be told, was only nominal; in substance it was a complete triumph for Zionism. National rights were disguised by the term minority rights. The name was new but the idea was the familiar one of national rights.

To the credit of the other faction be it said that no sooner had peace been declared and both factions united than Louis Marshall and his companions worked for the Zionist program as zealously as if it had been their own. It was in fact Mr. Marshall who drew up the resolution concerning national rights which was placed before the Jewish Congress in Philadelphia. The resolution was a model of clear and precise expression. All shades of opinion were accurately caught and represented; not a single nuance was neglected.

WITH the Congress launched, and favorable public opinion for Zionism stimulated, the Provisional Committee was able to devote itself to concrete tasks. Immediately political negotiatic were opened with officials of the United States Gc ernment. There is no doubt that the American Zion work of this period was to a great degree responsil for the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, thou to what extent it is impossible to say. Unfortunate for all students of American Zionist history, when t Administration went out of power in 1921 all t archives were cleared, so that it is impossible to asc tain the facts. Certain it is that Wilson and his Admin tration were friendly to Zionism and aided t movement in many instances. Thus President Wils in a Rosh Hashanah greeting to Dr. Stephen S. Wi reaffirmed his sympathy with the Zionist ide To-day it is not a novelty for a president to send greetings to Zionists; but at the time it cons tuted an important political document and crea a profound impression everywhere.

Meanwhile favorable reports were being recei from Palestine, which was rapidly passing under control of England. The conviction grew that if Allies were victorious Palestine would be ceded to Jews. It was during this period that—through Hadassah, which had under the leadership Henrietta Szold become a strong force—a Medi Unit was formed. The American uniforms worn the members of the Unit gave them an official cl acter, so that the Unit achieved political significar A Jewish Legion movement was organized; the i did not originate with Americans, but they sent largest battalions of Jewish young men—many them active Zionists.

It was at this time that the foundations of American Zion Commonwealth and its rami activities were laid. Bernard A. Rosenblatt, w whom the idea originated, received the suppor Mrs. Mary Fels, Judge Julian W. Mack—then Presic of the Zionist Organization—and many others. Transfer Department was organized for the pur of sending money to Palestine and, later, to all reg under control of the Allies.

The work undertaken during this period see firmly to establish the prestige of the Provisic Committee. However, underneath the surface t were evidences of discontent among the rank and of Zionists. From one convention to another dissatisfaction assumed larger proportions. causes were obvious. Mr. Brandeis, who had l appointed to the Supreme Court bench, was no lo able personally to be present at the scene of acti and was consequently forced to depend upon adv to carry out his wishes. The information furnis by these advisers often led him to commit e which had tragic results. Brandeis was afforde contact with the Zionist representatives who c have informed him as to the real opinions and s ments of the Zionists in the country; these rarely given an opportunity to participate in an the larger or political activities.

The opposition that had been forming as a result this state of affairs found its first expression at the icago Convention, in 1919. Louis Lipsky and orris Rothenberg—the latter had joined the movent at the Boston Convention—defended the Adinistration against the attacks of the present writer; it it was evident that many of the delegates sided ith the Opposition. The trend was uniquely dicated when Emanuel Neumann, then but a youth, se to speak for the Opposition against Dr. Wise's fense of the Administration. Neumann won! he Opposition also had the support of Judge Dannenum of Texas, who was convinced that the leaders ere not responsive to the wishes of the Zionists. he sentiment culminated in the sending to Brandeis a special committee which condemned the methds of administration that had been employed. of. Frankfurter assured the delegation, on behalf Brandeis, that changes would be made. But after e Convention matters returned to their original ate. The Opposition became increasingly bitter, d awaited the opportune moment for expression.

It is difficult to predict how events would have rminated had not a new situation arisen. My guess that the Opposition would have been unsuccessful d not the Brandeis group begun its campaign ainst the World Zionist Executive—against Weizann and others. Brandeis numbered among his pporters most of the illustrious and wealthy ionists, whereas the Opposition was headed by en who—with few exceptions—were unknown. ter, however, it was joined by Lipsky, Rothenrg, Conheim, Topkis and others who had the conlence of the rank and file, and who sympathized ith their attitude.

T was inevitable that the principle of democratic responsibility and the sentiment of attachment to l segments of the Diaspora working for Palestine ould give strength to the demands for change made the Opposition. What was at one time merely sentment against the aloofness of the Zionist leaderip from its constituency gradually developed into an verwhelming dismay and protest at the direction e Administration was giving to Zionist affairs.

The climax was initiated at the London Conference 1920, and was precipitated by the refusal of Justice randeis to accept a share in world Zionist leaderip, despite the insistent pleadings of all his Amerin colleagues. The emergence of America as a werful factor in any effort for the reconstruction Palestine gave Justice Brandeis a prestige and a ssible influence which was generally held to be valuable for substantial progress of the work. ut Justice Brandeis did not care to withdraw from e Supreme Court bench, a sacrifice which world ionist leadership would have entailed.

Counseled against Dr. Weizmann by his advisers, andeis was, for a time, hesitant as to what measure of support he should give to the existing world Zionist leadership. Finally he proposed a plan of economic dictatorship which would be vested in a committee of five, whose members would be recruited from the type of men represented by Reading, Mond and Samuel. But the proposal did not meet with the approval of even the American delegates, who, like the delegates from other countries, feared the word "dictator." Aside from Brandeis' personal associates, the present writer was the only one to support him. I am still of the opinion that the suggestion was a happy and practical one, and would undoubtedly have led to the Jewish Agency eight years ago. In reality the plan proposed by Brandeis would have meant no more than a directorate and would have succeeded in interesting a group of Jews who had thereto remained indifferent to Palestine.

The major proposal that came out of the London Conference was the Keren Hayesod, which was designed to assume the obligations for fund-raising throughout the world for all types of reconstruction work. Brandeis assumed a negative attitude at the time; this, upon his return to America, crystallized into a definite opposition. The unfriendly attitude which the American Administration had adopted toward the world leadership, to the head of which Dr. Weizmann had been elevated in London, helped to alienate an increasingly greater number of the rank and file in this country. Refusing to take the initiative in launching the Keren Hayesod, despite the Congress action upon the fund, and pursuing a policy of isolation, the American Administration inevitably headed for the fate which it met at Cleveland in 1921.

The spark that caused the dormant fires to burst into flame was occasioned by the arrival of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, together with a distinguished delegation, including Albert Einstein, M. M. Ussishkin, Benzion Mossinsohn and Shmarya Levin. They had come to aid in the establishment of the KerenHayesod, to which the American leadership was definitely opposed. Ignoring the usual amenities of hospitality, the Administration refused to receive the delegation with the *éclat* which their position in the Zionist world and which the prestige of American Zionism demanded. The masses were eager to see and hear the delegation; the rebuff administered to the men composing it did not, by any means, help to cement the ever widening breach.

The Cleveland Convention decided the issues which had been in the making over a course of several years. The question of discipline, the authority of the Congress, the attitude to nationalism, the Keren Hayesod—these were the problems to which the delegates were asked to devote themselves. On the one side was the Administration, hostile to the plans for rebuilding work drawn up in London; in principle opposed to the fundamental basis of the movement: the recognition of Jewish nationalism. On the other

side was a group of men who represented the inarticulate protest of the rank and file. Their protests received articulacy, however, in the events of the Cleveland Convention.

The dramatic character of what occurred in Cleveland can only be appreciated in the light of an understanding of the two groups opposed. The Administration was represented by men of standing in the community, men who had as their adherents a rather large group of wealthy Jews, men whose leadership in Zionist affairs had given them a national eminence. The Opposition counted as its leaders a group whose influence was restricted to the Jewish community, who commanded no support of wealthy sympathizers, men who had nothing to recommend them but many years of devoted Zionist service and the qualities of leadership.

The record of the Administration was ably discussed by both sides, but there was never any doubt as to the outcome of the Convention. When a vote of lack of confidence was given to the Administration, the leaders withdrew and the power of the Zionist Organization passed into the hands of those men who have shaped Zionist destiny in the United States to this day, aided by an increasing number of men and women who have been gained for the movement during these latter years.

THE history of the past eight years in American Zionism is synonymous with the period of greatest growth in Palestine. The two facts are not unparallel. Giving hearty support to the program of the world Zionist leadership, the new administration placed its entire force behind the Keren Hayesod, which for a period of two years continued to be violently attacked by the faction which had been deposed. But the visible achievements in Palestine, and the conviction of the masses that this popular fund was the best method for the acceleration of the rebuilding program, combined to make the Keren Hayesod the great fund-raising agency which it has been since 1921; during these years almost twenty million dollars have been raised in this country for Palestine.

The change in administration of the American Zionist movement corresponded with larger changes throughout the world and in Palestine. The international recognition given to the work in Palestine gave impetus to the movement here. The stability of Palestine gave cohesiveness to the international Zionist movement, so that American Zionism was removed from the "splendid isolation" which had characterized its position in former years. The contact between America and Europe was maintained by a notable group of Zionist leaders whose visits to this country stimulated the growth of Zionist thought and the enlargement of Zionist work.

The casual observer sees the past eight years as exclusively a period of money-raising, when all efforts were concentrated on meeting the American responsibilities to the Palestine budget. It is true that large sums were sent to Palestine; but desp[ite] the fact that a great deal of the Zionist propagan[da] was directed at money raising, the Zionist Administ[ra]tion has been responsible for the high state of Zion[ist] sentiment which now exists in this country.

One of the greatest achievements of the Adminis[tra]tion was the securing of the passage of the Lod[ge-]Fish Resolution through both Houses of Congre[ss] despite the opposition that was presented. Th[e] Resolution made possible the awarding of the Manda[te] over Palestine to Great Britain. The approval [of] the Government of the United States of the aims [of] the Jewish people to reestablish the Jewish Nation[al] Homeland in Palestine has been followed by an offic[ial] endorsement in which the various Presidents ha[ve] very eagerly concurred.

It must also be remembered that the extension [of] the Jewish Agency—which promises so much for t[he] future of Jewish life, particularly here in Ameri[ca] as well as in Palestine—was a policy inaugurated by t[he] American Zionist Administration. In the negot[ia]tions on this project the American leadership sto[od] shoulder to shoulder with the world Zionist Admin[is]tration.

Eight years of constant propaganda, reinforced [by] positive achievements in Palestine, have had th[eir] results in the ready approval which the Jewi[sh] Agency project has met in this country. The me[re] presentation of a formula was not responsible f[or] this change of attitude on the part of many who h[ad] hitherto remained distant or hostile. Year upon ye[ar] of penetration into every center of Jewish life, ye[ar] upon year of organizing communities for Zioni[st] fund-raising campaigns and making their membe[rs] conscious of their responsibility toward and relati[on] to the Jewish Homeland—have resulted in a wi[de] acceptance of the obligation of American Jewry [in] the task of rebuilding Palestine.

The progress which had been made in the develo[p]ment of American Zionism was somewhat imped[ed] during the last two years due to the attempt made [by] the remnants of the Zionist group deposed in 1921 [to] regain control of the administration. The oppos[i]tion was directed at both the world leadership and t[he] American administration; but the rank and file aga[in] rebuffed this faction. The tactics employed by th[e] opposition did not hesitate to descend to a form [of] personal virulence which could not help repellin[g] the average Zionist.

But aside from this incident, whose influence on t[he] course of American Zionism was minimal, t[he] Zionist movement has gone through an uninte[r]rupted period of development which is destined [to] have an important influence on the years to com[e.] American Jewish public opinion has been prepar[ed] for the pre-eminence of the Zionist ideal. Confide[nt] of its powers and resources of idealism, America[n] Zionism is preparing to turn the leaf of the ne[xt] twenty-five years, during which it hopes to ma[ke] even greater progress toward the Zionist goal.

The First American Disciples

In Response to Herzl's Congress Call

By MAX SHULMAN

When Herzl issued his call for delegates to the First Zionist Congress, icago was the first city to respond, as a result of the formation in 1895 the Chicago Zion Society, which later became the Knights of Zion. In s sketch Mr. Max Shulman, a Vice-President of the Zionist Organiza- n of America, describes the participation of Midwestern Jewry in the wth of the Zionist movement in this country.

T was in 1895—at the suggestion of Harris Horwich, a "Lover of Zion" of long standing who had once visited Palestine—that the Chicago ion Society was organized by Bernard Horwich. hicago was the first American city to respond to e call issued by Dr. Theodor Herzl when he conned the First Zionist Congress at Basle in August, 97. A small group of enthusiasts elected Leon olotkoff as their delegate to the First Congress; d immediately after his return he—together with e late Harris Horwich, Dr. J. Gartenstein and rnard Horwich—organized the Knights of Zion. is, the first interstate Zionist organization in merica, was organized in the manner of the fraternal cieties so popular at the time. None of the others, owever, permitted the dissemination of Zionist opaganda among its members. Later the fraternal nefits and secrets of the Knights of Zion were done vay with, and it became a purely Jewish national ciety.

The Knights of Zion was chartered on October , 1897, with B. Horwich as Grand Master and Leon olotkoff as Grand Secretary; it anticipated its stern sister, the Federation of American Zionists, more than a year. Its efforts ere directed not only toward rengthening the movement in hicago, but toward securing a earing and a stronghold for the ionist cause in ten Middle Westn states as well.

The leading Jewish societies of hicago at that period were Kadiah and the Clara de Hirsch club, hich represented the younger, mericanized generation. The st president of Kadimah was ouis Herzfeld, and its first sectary was B. L. Sloan. And the st public lectures on Jewish pics to be given on the West de were delivered under the ispices of these groups in their odest club rooms. It was rough these activities that the sire for adequate headquarters as aroused; the result was the organization of the Chicago Hebrew Institute, now the Jewish People's Institute. All of the charter members of the Institute were recruited from the ranks of Kadimah, and in the first few years of its existence this Institute and its policies were controlled by Zionists.



MAX SHULMAN

It was soon realized that a sound development would be possible only if the Jewish children were reached. Accordingly the first Sabbath Schools on the West Side were organized, supervised and financed by the Zionist society. Zionists also joined the boards of directors of such schools as existed, and helped develop new Hebrew schools employing modern methods.

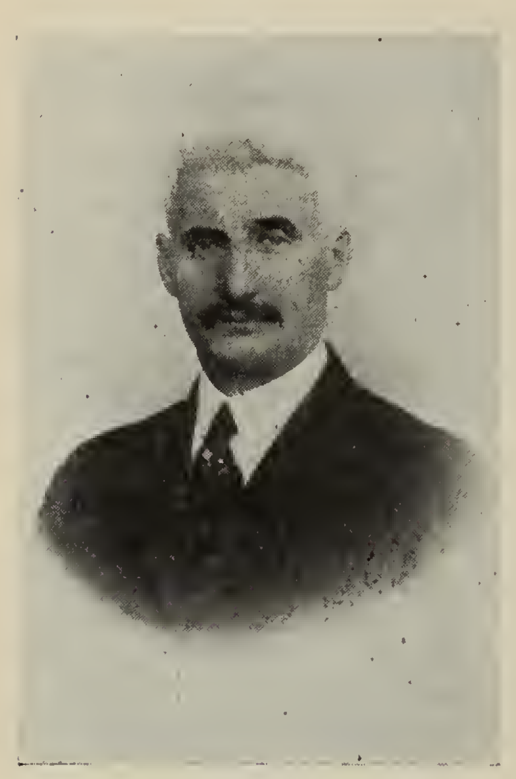
THIRTY years ago Jewish life in Chicago and the West fell into two distinct categories—Orthodox and Reform. The sponsors of Zionism were faced with the necessity of winning over the leaders of both groups; and it was Zolotkoff who performed the greater part of this difficult task. His personal efforts, as well as the frequent articles he published in the Jewish press, gained the interest of Dr. B. Felsenthal and Rabbi A. S. Braude, respectively the foremost Reform and Orthodox Rabbis of Chicago. The late Dr. S. N. Deinard of Minneapolis, Rabbi S. Margolis of Cleveland, Rabbi S. J. Scheinfeld of Milwaukee and Dr. Mendel Silber of St. Louis also evinced sympathy with the movement, and by their presence at meetings contributed greatly to public confidence in the cause.

The early struggles of Chicago Zionists were intensified by two factors. We had no access either to the Reform temples or to the Orthodox synagogues. We recognized at that early day that Zionism did not only involve the arousing of interest in the rebuilding of Palestine, but the education of the masses in the Zionist ideal.

In order to penetrate every phase of Jewish life Zionists enrolled as members of the large synagogues, there to exert influence upon the membership and to mold Jewish public opinion. They also joined every fraternal organization in order to reache th organized Jewish groups. It is due to the efforts of Zionists that Hebrew is now taught and recog-

nized as a major language in the Chicago high schools, and that the Chicago Public Library has been prevailed upon to purchase and circulate Yiddish and Hebrew books.

Our present campaigns to raise large sums for Palestine contrast strangely with our efforts then. When the Jewish Colonial Trust issued an appeal for the sale of its shares the leaders of the movement here decided that it would not be advisable to ask individuals for so large an amount as the price of one share—five dollars. Instead, it was resolved to sell shares on the instalment plan, so that by paying ten cents a week one could become a shareholder of the Jewish Colonial Trust in the course of a year. In this manner 5,367 shares were sold in Chicago by a committee of which Mr. B. Horwich was the chairman.



BERNARD HORWICH
First President, Knights of Zion

The Chicago Chapter of Hadassah was organized in 1913 by women who had been interested and active in the Clara de Hirsch society. To-day, under the leadership of Miss Pearl Franklin, the Chicago Chapter is the largest, most productive and most influential women's organization in the country.

The early development of Chicago Zionism was stimulated by a group of pioneers, some of whom are no more with us. Among these were Tobias Weinshenker, David Horwich, A. Jerusalemsky, Harry Goldman, B. Brenner and Max Conheim. Nathan D. Kaplan, who joined the movement at an early age, is now serving actively in Palestine in the reconstruction of the country. Others of the early figures in American Zionism are Judge Harry M. Fisher, who was a member of the Volunteers of Zion in 1898; Judge Hugo Pam, who has been active since 1911; H. Steinberg and Dr. S. M. Melamed.

The wide interest aroused by the activities of Chicago Zionists has been due in no small measure to the co-operation which the movement received from the Jewish and general press. In the former group are Mr. Philip Ginzburg, publisher of the *Courier* and H. L. Meites of the *Chronicle;* these, as well as *The Sentinel*, have worked harmoniously with the Chicago leadership.

Among the other achievements of Chicago Zionists is the erection of a unique monument to the memory of the founder of political Zionism: I 1915—thanks to the efforts of Harry A. Lipsk a member of the Board of Education—one of th finest public schools of the city was dedicated a the Herzl School.

Attempts to merge the Knights of Zion with th Federation of American Zionists were made a early as 1903. Most of us, however, then felt tha the Middle West could be reached much more effe tively from Chicago than from the East. At th St. Louis Convention of 1909 the name of the Mic dle Western body—which by this time was no long conducted as a fraternal society—was changed t that of the Federated Zionist Societies of the Midd West. At the Ninth and Tenth Congresses th validity of our charter was questioned by the del gates of the Federation of American Zionists; bu the independence of our organization, which wa defended by B. Horwich and the writer, was finall sustained by the Congress.

In 1913 we yielded to the demands of our Easter friends, and the Federated Zionist Societies of th Middle West became a constituent part of the Federa tion of American Zionists—retaining, however, i autonomy in the Middle Western states. But whe at Pittsburgh in June, 1918, the Zionist Organiza tion of America was formed, the interests and activ ties of all the sectional groups were taken over b this all-inclusive body.

Since that time Chicago has been the center Zionism in the Middle West.

At a conference held in St. Louis several years ago, it was definitely designated as the headquarters of the Middle Western Zionist Region, co-operating in this regard with St. Louis. Sharing responsibility with the national headquarters in New York, Chicago has given the motive power to the development of Zionism in this territory.



LEON ZOLOTKOFF
First Secretary, Knights of Zion

As the movement has grown Zionism in Chicag and the Middle West has also increased in strengt and influence. To-day the dreamers of thirty yea ago are a power in the religious, educational ar communal life of their cities.

The Growth of Canadian Zionism

Its Origin and Development

By G. A. STOLAR

Despite the difficulties created by long distances between communities, and the attitude of some of the non-Jewish population, Canadian Jewry has developed to an unusual extent during the past several decades. This description of the development of the Zionist Organization of Canada is also a picture of the growth of Canadian Jewry, since the two have become synonymous for all practical purposes.

THE people amongst whom the Jewish immigrants to Canada sought refuge did not in any way resemble, either in its mode of life or its relations to Jews, any section of the corresponding European stock with whom the Jews were more familiar. They found a stubborn, intensely conservative and bigoted French population, which has refused to follow remarkably progressive France proper since 1789, and which in the mass obstinately clings to outworn die-hard royalism and rigid Catholic intolerance, such as prevailed in France at the time of the Edict of Nantes in 1689. With them the early Jewish settlers found dour Scotch Presbyterians who still rigidly adhere to John Knox's inflexible tenets despite the great strides on the road of toleration and broad-mindedness made by the mother church in the Old Country; lastly, jovial and yet impulsive, grudge-bearing and equally intransigent Irish Roman Catholics. Such a situation, despite the fact that these three sections co-operate very smoothly in political matters, is bound to sharpen the religious antithesis, of which the main sufferer would be, of course, the "Fourth *Aliyah*," i.e. the Jews. It is in these surroundings, apart from the West with its mixed population consisting largely of tolerant Central and East European peasantry, that Canadian Jewry has had to strike root and in which it has made such astonishing progress.

It would be untrue to say, however, that the Jewish pioneers who did more than their share in building up the country were simply wedged in between these two main solid masses, neither of which was inclined to regard their coming in any numbers with a favorable eye. As early as 1831 Jews secured, after a protracted struggle, the right to sit in legislative assemblies. On the other hand, in the Province of Quebec, which with Montreal as its largest city has also the largest Jewish population, an old-fashioned clerical control of education leaves no room for the Jews; and despite a bitter struggle extending over half a century, the question of admitting Jewish children to schools on equal terms with non-Jewish children is no nearer solution. This is significant, as it has created no difficulties in any other part of the world for the last hundred years, not even in Switzerland, where conditions most resemble those prevailing in Canada.

CLARENCE I. DE SOLA
First Secretary, Canadian Zionist Federation

Both nature and the people in the country were against the Jewish pioneers. However, the inestimable, loyal and honorable services which the Jews have rendered to the Dominion in assisting its economic development, both in its pioneering days and at this very moment, have largely blunted Canadian anti-Semitism. But an equally if not more potent factor in this direction has been the intense sense of racial pride among Canadian Jewry as a whole. And this factor is the fruit of nothing else but thirty years of unremitting Zionist work. It is Herzl who first realized what has since become a psychological truism which knocks the bottom out of assimilationism: that no Jew is so much held in contempt by the non-Jew as the one who lacks moral stamina and national pride.

VOLUMES need not be wasted over the sprinkling of Sephardim, mainly originating from Bordeaux, who came with the 17th century French settlers, or the small number of English and Alsatian Jews who arrived in the second half of the 18th century, nor either over those who came about 1848 with the California gold rush. Despite all this and despite the spasmodic encouragement to Jewish immigration given by the Government, the number of Jews in the whole of Canada did not exceed 6,414 in 1891. Four

years before this, however, Alexander Harkavy had already established a Choveve Zion Society in Montreal, and almost simultaneously set up the first Hebrew classes in Canada, many years before this was done in London, England. The society was soon killed by indifference and the classes by determined opposition. When the Choveve Zion Society was revived two years afterwards, it immediately took steps to purchase land in Palestine, and when the scheme fell through in 1895, not less than 32,000 *francs*, a huge sum of money in those days, was found to have been raised.

However, the vast immigration movement which started about that time brought fresh blood into the veins of Canadian Jewry. In fact as many as three thousand per annum, which was considered a stupendous rate at the time, began arriving around about 1900. Under the impulse of the Dreyfus trial, the first Zionist society in Canada, called Agudah Zion of Montreal, had been founded in 1898 with Dr. David Hart, a descendant of the Alsatian pioneers, as president and the late Mr. Clarence I. de Sola as secretary, and it soon received an invitation, in English, written by Dr. Herzl himself, to send delegates to the First Zionist Congress. This society became the nucleus of the Zionist Organization of Canada of which Mr. de Sola shortly afterwards became president and Mr. Leon Goldman executive secretary. It must have gladdened Herzl's heart, faced as he then was by untold difficulties, to find that within one year there were 512 disciplined Zionists in far-off Canada.



ARCHIBALD FREIMAN
President of the Canadian Zionist Federation

The obstacles confronting the founders were truly colossal: vast distances, the scattered location of Jews disseminated far and wide across three thousand miles, lack of a proper Jewish background in Montreal of those days, absence of Jewish schools, tremendous separation from Zionist headquarters in Vienna and later Basle and Cologne and as a consequence great difficulty in securing propagandists from Europe, or even from the States where the movement was also very young; none of these things deterred them. A further and equally serious difficulty was the apathy of the Jewish masses which had been, and were being, brutalized under the savage and relentless "sweating system" of those days, which prevailed both in the Montreal workshops and in railways construction work out in the West. It is true there were no anti-Zionists to fight. But such a fight would have proved a stimulus, and as things were, general indifference made progress a matter of much greater difficulty.

No wonder, therefore, that the Organization in its early days practically exclusively concentrated its attention on educational Zionist propaganda. The movement made such rapid headway that, as early as 1902, before the Jewish National Fund was at work, it had reached to the Pacific. In the preceding year also the first women's Zionist society which took the name of the Young Ladies' Progressive Zionist Society, was founded. In those days when Herzl was expecting to get a charter from the Sultan it was fashionable to talk of charters, and the "Progressive" Young Ladies in due time secured a charter from the Head Office. One of the matters about which Canada may be proud is that it was the first country in the world to inaugurate the Land Fund.

HENCEFORTH and until the War the work, as viewed from a post-War angle, was largely uneventful. But in 1910 Canada occupied the seventh place in the list of Zionist federations remitting funds to the World Zionist Organization. Amongst the personalities of the movement the most outstanding at the time was, of course, Mr. Clarence de Sola, who introduced into the organization a strong sense of discipline. Discipline has always been one of the strong points of the Canadian organization and in that respect it can stand comparison with Germany, Czechoslovakia and South Africa. There is also Mr. A. Levin, at that time treasurer and since honorary vice-president and Dominion chairman of the Keren Hayesod, a veteran in many ways, who was the first actual contributor to Zionist funds in the Dominion. Mr. A. J. Freiman, who for the last ten years has been at the head of Canadian Zionists, was first elected a member of the Council as long ago as 1901. In 1912 Canada was already leading the whole diaspora in its contributions to the Jewish National Fund, having raised no less than $10,000 in less than two years, which was quite an achievement in those days. Every year new societies were being established and at the Eleventh Congress Canada sent no less than twelve delegates.

The War, of course, practically paralyzed all Zionist activity, and Canadian Zionists like their

brethren in the States concentrated on sending relief to Jewish refugees from Palestine, looking after the needs of Jewish soldiers in Egypt and later on sending money to the *Yishuv* through the American ambassador in Constantinople. As the War was approaching its end, the Zionist Organization of Canada was one of a few federations which had remained more or less intact and in a position of exerting their influence in the Peace Settlement. The first Canadian Jewish conference which was convened to deal specifically with this question had already met in 1915 and had been addressed by Justice Brandeis and Dr. Shmarya Levin, and it is a striking testimony to the absence of organized or unorganized anti-Zionists in Canada that the personnel of this conference was almost identical with that of the Zionist Organization of Canada. In June, 1917, when Mr. Balfour, as he was then, was in Ottawa, he took the opportunity of inviting Mr. de Sola and informing him in so many words of the contents of the Balfour Declaration, actually five months before it was officially published. When the War was over, the first Canadian Jewish Congress met and sent delegates to the Peace Conference in Paris to collaborate with other Jewish delegations in securing a hearing for Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Sokolow and Mr. Ussishkin, before the all-powerful Council of Ten.

Enthusiasm was such that when the Restoration Fund was launched shortly afterwards, no less than $275,000 were raised in just over one year, representing as much as $150.00 per head. In the meantime Mr. de Sola had retired from the presidency and Mr. A. J. Freiman, who had been vice-president since 1915, was in 1919 elected president, an office which he has occupied ever since. In the space of two years, 1919 to 1921, the number of registered Zionists increased four-fold. Furthermore Canada achieved another record in the Zionist movement; when the London annual conference decided to inaugurate the Keren Hayesod in 1920, it was Canada which again seized the initiative. It was the first country in the world officially to embody this fund in its program of work.

It was about the same time that the first Canadian Hadassah Conference met. It is worth while glancing back for a few moments to the origin of this movement, since nowhere else in the world have the women played such an important rôle in building up the Zionist Organization, and in assisting it to fulfill its manifold duties to Palestine. While in all other countries women Zionists have restricted themselves to propagating Zionism amongst women only, and, collaterally, to directing efforts of these women towards the creation and the upkeep of Palestine institutions making specific appeal to women, Canadian Hadassah has imposed upon itself no such limitations. There is no field of Zionist activity in Canada in which Canadian Hadassah has not played a weighty and, in some cases, even a preponderant rôle. Apart from maintaining the well-known Girls' Agricultural College in Nahalal, which is one of the best-regulated institutions in Palestine and the only one of its kind in the Near East, and also the Workers' Convalescent Home at Motza, the Safed Sanatorium and the Jerusalem Baby Home—a task of sufficient magnitude for such a relatively small number of women—they have of their own free will and at every opportunity come forward to shoulder the burden of the various campaigns for Zionists funds. In fact it may be said without any exaggeration that but for the Hadassah the extraordinary development of the Zionist movement in Canada since the War, and the unparalleled support it has given to the major Zionist funds, would simply be unthinkable.

MRS. ARCHIBALD FREIMAN
President of the Canadian Hadassah

THIS unique tradition has been created and untiringly fostered during all these years by Mrs. A. J. Freiman, who must be regarded as one of the most outstanding women in the world Zionist movement. It is true the first Hadassah chapter was founded a few years previously by Mrs. Anna Selick, who has been ever since one of the most consistent and prominent workers in Canadian Hadassah. But the movement did not assume its present proportion until 1921, when Mrs. A. J. Freiman was appointed Dominion President. During the preceding five years a number of Hadassah chapters had sprung up for the purpose of providing for the needs of Jewish soldiers in Allenby's armies. The War, however, had all but annihilated the *Yishuv*. It was this critical situation which went to the heart of the Jewish women in Canada and cemented the various Hadassah chapters into one organization. But it was, one might almost say, natural that Mrs. Freiman, who through her extraordinary energy and powerful organizing abilities

had carried out successfully a number of Jewish as well as non-Jewish campaigns during the War, should assume the task of meeting this situation. As a result of a campaign throughout the Dominion not less than $160,000 were raised in cash and $40,000 in kind. An interesting fact showing the happy relations existing with the Canadian Government is that contributions were received from the Canadian Prime Minister and other members of the Government. This big effort was a first-class stimulus; and every succeeding year has seen new chapters formed in the tiniest and remotest cities until at the present time their number is 115, with a total membership of approximately four thousand.

SINCE 1921 the Zionist Organization of Canada has been one of the few federations which, despite the disillusion created by the White Paper and subsequent developments, has maintained unimpaired the very high standard reached in the period of enthusiasm just after the War.

In Canada it is patent to everybody, be he a Jew or a non-Jew, that the one dominating, alive, all-powerful bond uniting Canadian Jewry is the Zionist Organization of Canada. It has no rival, nor as far as one can foresee is it likely to meet with any serious competitor in the hearts of Canadian Jews. While here and there we may find, as in every country, a lukewarm Zionist or two, no Canadian Jew will have the audacity to proclaim publicly anti-Zionist sentiments, as is the case in most other countries. Such a thing as fear of being associated with the Jewish national movement can hardly be said to exist in Canada.

AMONGST the leaders there is first and foremost Mr. A. J. Freiman, whose leadership has been one of the most important factors in raising the Organization to its present status. Perhaps the most outstanding instance of Mr. Freiman's acute vision and his bold leadership is represented in the stupendous responsibility entailed by the purchase of the Sharon Valley for the Jewish National Fund. During his visit to Palestine late in 1926 nothing impressed Mr. Freiman more from among the multifarious colonization problems than the extortionate prices demanded by Arab land-owners for land situated near Jewish settlements. He promptly made up his mind that it was the duty of Canadian Zionists to do all they could to remedy this state of affairs and to help the Jewish National Fund to provide land at a low price for the Jewish settler. Accordingly when the Jewish National Fund shortly afterwards found an important piece of land of 50,000 dunam in the Sharon Valley which for strategic and economic reasons it was most essential to have in Jewish hands, and put this proposition before Mr. Freiman, he accepted it without hesitation, though knowing full well what a tremendous undertaking it meant for Canadian Zionists to raise one million dollars for this purpose. And it speaks volumes for the fine spirit of Canadian Zionists that when Mr. Ussishkin personally put forward the scheme at the Winnipeg Convention in 1927, they unanimously decided to shoulder this additional burden. What is more, $300,000 have already been remitted to Jerusalem.

Apart from Mr. Freiman, Mr. A. Levin and Mr. Louis Fitch, who have already been mentioned, and such veterans as Mr. R. A. Darwin, Mr. M. Gelber, Mr. Lyon Cohen and Mr. H. E. Wilder, mention must be made of Mr. Joseph Fineberg, who has been an able treasurer for many years, Mr. M. Heppner and Mr. M. J. Finkelstein, who are largely responsible for organizing the West in recent years and Mr. David Dunkelman and Mr. S. Kronick, who played a leading part in stimulating activities in the Ontario division. A splendid asset to the Organization has been Rabbi J. L. Zlotnik, who has been its executive director since 1926 and as such has been the driving force for the whole machinery and a and source of inspiration to the whole movement.

Amongst the Hadassah workers the most prominent collaborator of Mrs. Freiman in building up the Hadassah has been Mrs. Anna Selick. Here too we have prominent workers who have done yeoman service in organizing different parts of the Dominion such as Mrs. H. E. Wilder and later Mrs. Max Heppner and Mrs. M. Rady in the West, Mrs. Louis Fitch, Mrs. S. Kahn and Mrs. Louis Miller in Montreal and Mrs. David Dunkelman in Ontario.

A YOUTH movement has been in existence since the War. But the same difficulties which have beset this branch of Zionist activities in the United States and elsewhere have been encountered in the Dominion. Though a band of leaders has been working very hard and a Dominion-wide organization has been created under the name of the Federation of Young Judea of Canada, the work has suffered from the circumstance that the legitimate and urgent needs of Palestine during the last few years have practically turned the whole of the Zionist movement into a money-raising machinery.

An interesting development has been the creation in the last few years of the Order Habonim, a Zionist body organized along Masonic lines, which has done a great deal of quiet spade-work, and in that capacity has been a great help to the Organization.

The evidence of figures, too, shows a truly astonishing growth. From a total of a little over $120,000 in 1922, the total income of the Zionist Organization of Canada, including all Zionist funds, rose to $270,000 in 1928. The significance of this figure will be realized when it is borne in mind that Canadian Jews are individually called upon to bear the burden of a large number of communal institutions which in other countries are run either by the government or by some other public authority.

1904-1929

A Review of Zionist Progress in Various Countries

By ISRAEL COHEN

As one who, by personal contact and as a student of Zionist history, has kept in close touch with the development of Zionism since the passing of Theodor Herzl, Mr. Cohen is eminently qualified to review the progress made in the British Empire, in Western Europe, in Eastern Europe, in South America and in the Orient. Some of these territories are treated more exhaustively in other articles in this book, notably Dr. Robert Weltsch's article on Central Europe and André Spire's review of Zionism in France. Mr. Cohen's survey is indicative of a general process of growth which Zionism has undergone simultaneously in all countries. It is also apparent that Zionism has influenced the Jewish communities as well as Palestine.

I

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

AMONG those who responded to the call of Herzl not the least ardent were the Jews in various parts of the British Empire. There were intelligent enthusiasts in the outlying parts of the Empire, as well as in the Mother Country itself, who proved capable of inspiring others with some of their own fervor, and thus, when the immortal leader passed from this earthly scene, there were Zionist societies already flourishing in greater or less degree from Montreal to Melbourne, and from Johannesburg to Singapore. The societies in Canada and South Africa had their own Federations, which were affiliated directly with the World Organization; but those in Australia and New Zealand, isolated from each other and inevitably small in membership, as well as the societies in Shanghai and Singapore, regarded themselves as branches of the English Zionist Federation, with which they kept in regular communication and from which they drew much of their spiritual sustenance.

The decade that elapsed between the death of Herzl and the outbreak of the Great War witnessed a series of crises in the fortunes of Zionism in England. It is a tribute to the character of its leaders that it weathered them all so successfully. The opposition that was waged against the movement during the leader's lifetime was continued with unabated vigor, if with somewhat diminished violence. Both the religious and the lay heads of the community had from the very outset declared battle against the Zionist "heresy." Dr. Hermann Adler, the late Chief Rabbi, had pronounced Zionism to be "an egregious blunder" against which he and some of his leading ministers directed their polemical shafts from time to time; while the late Lord Rothschild, the late Mr. D. L. Alexander (President of the Jewish Board of Deputies), Mr. Claude Montefiore and Mr. Lucien Wolf lost few opportunities of indulging in stabs or pinpricks. This systematic opposition, which persistently asserted that Zionism had not the remotest chance of realization and that its propaganda was injurious to Jewish interests, had the inevitable effect of checking the growth of the Zionist Federation.



ISRAEL COHEN

But there were other causes that likewise prevented the advance of the movement. The loss of Herzl not only discouraged those who were still standing on the brink and who thought that without his leadership the ideal that he had proclaimed would prove a mere chimera, but for a time it also caused confusion and dissension among his followers.

The dispute over the East Africa project, which continued after his death until the British Government's offer was rejected by the Congress of 1905, left many scars and embitterments. But, worse still, it led to the establishment by Mr. Israel Zangwill of a rival body, the Jewish Territorial Organization, for the purpose of obtaining a national autonomous settlement in anv part of the world. Mr; Zangwill was untiring in the propaganda that he conducted on behalf of his creation. Formerly the most distinguished exponent in the English-speaking world of the merits of Zionism, he now became its most formidable opponent. He did not cease to affirm his nationalist faith, but his was not the Zionist conception of Jewish nationalism. Thanks to his literary fame and his personal prestige he was able to secure a larger following in England than in any other country, but although comparatively few Zionists went over to his camp he succeeded in gaining the support of many people who might other-

wise have found their way to the Zionist fold. It was not only by the establishment of his own organization, but also by his opposing the wishes of the Zionist Executive in regard to amending the articles of association of the Jewish Colonial Trust—an opposition that he conducted in the full limelight of the English law courts—that he caused the Zionist movement in England a serious setback, even though the attitude that he took upon the question of the Bank was animated by his desire that its statutes as approved by its founder should remain unchanged.

A further obstacle to progress consisted in the divisions among the leading members of the Zionist Federation itself. These divisions were a reflection of the differences that had found expression in the movement generally after the death of Herzl. They were the differences between the "political" and the "practical" Zionists, between those who maintained that not the least step towards colonization in Palestine should be taken until there were adequate guarantees from the Turkish Government, and those who contended that the work of colonization should be begun without further delay. In the light of the developments that have occurred during the last ten years the conflicts of that period may appear to have been ill-advised, but Zionists cannot be prophets. Sincere though both sides were, their internecine struggle had the effect of frittering away energies that would have been applied to better advantage in propagating their common cause among those who were still indifferent. Gradually, however, the acerbities of party strife wore off, and at the same time, as though by way of compensation, the movement made steady progress in University circles. It had been a source of weakness in the earlier years of English Zionism that the majority of its supporters were immigrants; but as the years advanced the native-born children of these immigrants, especially a number of those who learned their Zionism in student societies, helped to strengthen the movement and place it upon a firmer footing.



BALFOUR, WEIZMANN AND SOKOLOW
It Was Through the Instrumentality of these Three Men that Zionism Received its Greatest Impetus

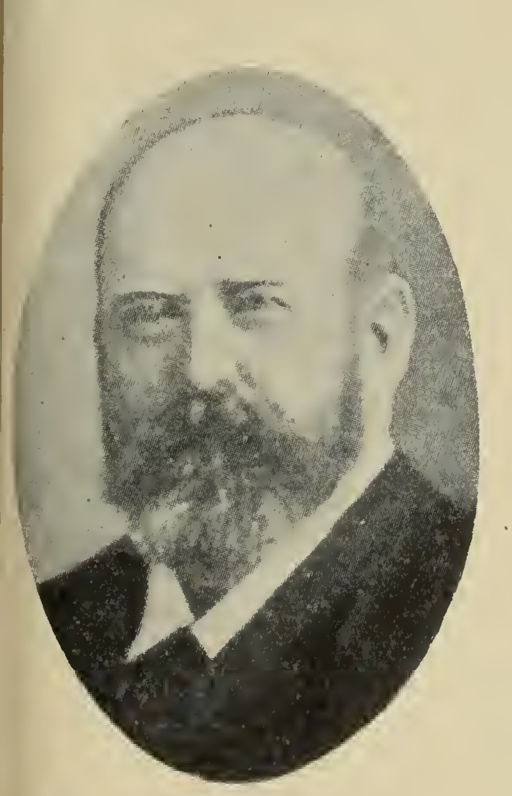
Until the outbreak of the Great War, however, Zionism in England was neither a popular nor a powerful force. With the issue of the Balfour Declaration there came a complete transformation. Such a change was doubtless paralleled in many other countries, but in none was the effect so sudden or so far-reaching as in the land in which the Declaration had its origin. The apathy and indifference of large masses were converted into sympathy and even enthusiasm. Many Zionist societies that had become moribund during the first years of the War were immediately revived, and new societies sprang up in places where the *Hatikvah* had hitherto not been heard. The anti-Zionists had fought hard until the last. They did their utmost to prevent the issue of the Declaration, but their endeavors (even though seconded in the counsels of the British Cabinet by a Jewish Minister, the late Edwin Montagu) were unavailing. Their defeat spread to the Board of Deputies, the most representative organization of British Jewry, in which the Zionists had previously formed a small and weak minority but had now become so powerful that the anti-Zionist "die-hards" were swept away and a new and sympathetic Executive was elected. From that time Zionism continued to advance in every direction.

The Jewish national movement was at its zenith in England between the years 1918 and 1921. It was the period when hopes soared highest concerning the fulfilment of Zionist ideals, and when it was comparatively easy to raise large sums towards their realization. Appeals for the various Palestine funds—first the Preparation and then the Restoration Fund, besides the old-established National Fund, as well as for various business enterprises—all met with a quick and favorable response. The efforts of the Executive of the English Zionist Federation were powerfully aided by the Zionist leaders, Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow, who had made their homes in London, and by many other distinguished Zionists, who either lived here for longer or shorter periods, as did Max Nordau and Shmarya Levin, or who came to the Zionist headquarters for conferences. But with the gradual appreciation of the difficulties that stood in the way of achieving the ambitious plans conceived in the glow of fervor aroused by the original interpretation of the Balfour Declaration, and especially when this fervor was cooled by the Mandatory's statement of policy in 1922 known as the "White Paper," there naturally set in a reaction. The ebb in popular emotion continued until it was realized that, "White

aper" or no "White Paper," the measure of progress ı Palestine would depend for the most part directly pon the extent of the resources made available for the stablishment of the Jewish National Home, and that : was ultimately the Jewish people themselves who ould primarily determine the rate of its growth.

Despite the fluctuations of the last few years, owever, Zionist sentiment has acquired a strong old upon nearly all sections of the Anglo-Jewish ommunity. There is no longer any appreciable pposition, although there is still a certain amount f indifference. No preacher ever utters a word now gainst the Zionist ideal: on the contrary, numbers f them advocate it from their pulpits. The example et by Chief Rabbi Dr. Hertz (who, when a minister n Johannesburg, was vice-president of the South African Zionist Federation) has had a salutary nfluence upon the Rabbis of this country. Even Rabbi Mattuck, of the Liberal Synagogue, although pposed to the principles of Zionism, does not preach gainst them, while he is a vice-president of the Friends of the Hebrew University; and, on the other and, his colleague, Mr. M. L. Perlzweig, is honorary ecretary of the English Zionist Federation. The rogress made in recent years is shown by the large umber of London synagogues and of Jewish friendly ocieties that have become constituent bodies of the Federation, as well as by the supplementary activity of the Order of Ancient Macçabæans (a friendly enefit society conducted on a purely Zionist basis), the Association of Young Zionists (which has 1,500 nembers) and the University Zionist Federation (which has 450 members).

The premier Zionist body of English Jewry is, of course, the Federation. It rendered very valuable services to the cause in general at the time of the issue of the Balfour Declaration and during the following years by providing the leaders of the movement with a platform from which they could address not merely the local community but the Jewries of the world; and it also performed an important task in educating the public opinion of the country in general in regard to the meaning of Zionism and its value to British interests in the Near East.



LORD WALTER ROTHSCHILD

Who Received the Balfour Declaration in a Letter from Lord Balfour

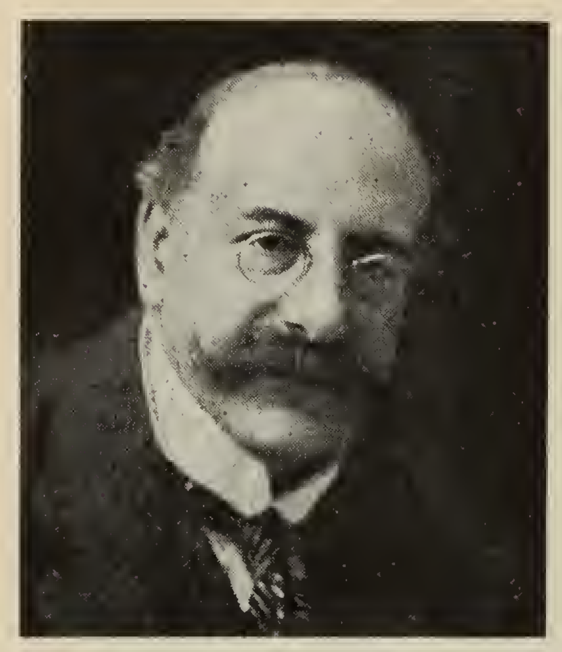
Since the establishment of the Keren Hayesod the work of the Federation has been greatly increased for while it was formerly responsible only in part for the collecting activity of that Fund, it has for some time now been entrusted with its sole administration. The result has been that its work in the domain of organization and propaganda has suffered lately, especially since it was obliged to close down its monthly organ, *The Zionist Review*, which had acted as the official organ of English Zionism since the time of the issue of the Balfour Declaration. Fortunately the Association of Young Zionists has succeeded in maintaining its own paper, *The Young Zionist*, while the Jewish National Fund Commission for Great Britain, which carries on an independent and active existence, also produces a journal, *The Monthly Pioneer*.



ROBERT CECIL

One of Zionism's English Friends, Chairman of the Palestine Mandate Society

The progress that Zionism in England has achieved is illustrated not only by the attitude of sympathy shown by practically all sections of the community, but also by the friendly interest displayed by influential representatives of British public opinion. As far as the community is concerned, it has decided, through the medium of the Conference convened by the Board of Deputies on April 21st, to participate in the Council of the extended Jewish Agency. This decision could have been foretold pretty safely long before the Conference was summoned, for the activity that had been conducted by the Keren Hayesod in connection with the leading synagogues in London revealed a growing desire on the part of their members to participate in the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. But the fruits of Zionist propaganda have shown themselves also in the domain of Hebrew education. The teaching of Hebrew as a living language has been adopted by a large number of Jewish schools, at which, moreover, instruction is also given in the geography of Palestine. Propaganda among Jewish women is conducted with much success by the Federation of Women Zionists, which is affiliated with the Women's International Zionist Organization and raises a goodly sum every year towards this Organization's infant welfare centers



LORD MELCHETT
President of the English Zionist Federation

and girls' agricultural training centers in Palestine.

As for the friendly attitude displayed in responsible British circles, that is probably due more to the efforts of the Executive of the Zionist Organization, which is more nearly concerned about maintaining an enlightened public opinion and sympathetic atmosphere. Apart from occasional sensational outbursts on the part of the *Daily Mail* or the *Daily Express*, which exercise no political influence, the British press is very favorably disposed towards the establishment of the Jewish National Home. Representatives of all three political parties—Conservative, Liberal and Labor—have combined to form the Palestine Mandate Society, under the distinguished chairmanship of Viscount Cecil, with the object of securing the continued good will of the British people towards our endeavors in our ancestral land.

IN comparison with the developments in England during the last twenty-five years, the story of the activity in other parts of the British Empire is neither so varied nor so momentous. But there are two countries that present a record of accomplishment in the field of organization and the collection of funds that has often surpassed the results achieved in England. They are South Africa and Canada.

The Jewish community of South Africa numbers only 62,000 souls, and if its financial contributions towards Zionist funds and towards Jewish undertakings generally in Palestine were compared with those from other countries, it would probably be found that it contributes the highest amount per head of the population. It owes this eminent position not to the inordinate wealth of its members, for they are probably, on the average, not richer than the Jews in other British territories or in the United States, but to the Jewish national consciousness and the spirit of self-sacrifice that have been fostered in them in so intensive a degree. Consisting for the most part of immigrants from Lithuania and their children, the Jews in South Africa have built up a Zionist Federation that may well be held up as a model to Zionists in all other parts of the world. They have been trained to play their part in the upbuilding of our National Home by leaders with a strong sense of responsibility and a gift for organization, who have at all times laid stress upon educational propaganda, though their efforts have been stimulated by the occasional visits of leaders from Europe. Even before the War South Africa had been visited by a leader in the person of Herzl's successor, David Wolffsohn, while during the last few years visits have been paid by Mr. Sokolow, Dr. Shmarya Levin and Colonel Kisch, who have addressed numerous meetings in all parts of the sub-continent.

In addition to supporting the Palestine funds of the Zionist Organization, the Zionists of South Africa maintain a colony of orphan children—mostly victims of Russian pogroms—and also a business enterprise, *Binyan*, in Palestine. The progress that they have made is indicated by the fact that their organ, *The Zionist Record*, which was originally a monthly and afterwards a fortnightly, has for some time past been a weekly journal with a large circulation. Zionism enjoys not only the support of the Jewish community—it dominates Jewish life as in no other English-speaking country—but also the friendly sympathy of the non-Jewish world, as was shown a few months ago by a manifesto signed by the most prominent figures in political and public life. The esteem in which it is held is due in no small measure to the enthusiastic advocacy it has received from General Smuts, who has been a loyal friend of the Zionist cause since the days of the Balfour Declaration.

IN Australia and New Zealand the Jewish national movement had a struggle for existence before the War. There were a few devoted apostles in the larger cities, such as Melbourne, Sydney and Perth in Australia, and Auckland and Wellington in New Zealand; but cut off as they were from frequent communication with London they were unable to make any appreciable headway. The Zionists in Perth had the benefit of the settlement in their midst of a number of Jews who had come from Palestine, while those in the other cities had been stimulated by the visit of Mr. Samuel Goldreich, from South Africa, who delivered rousing addresses wherever he went. A considerable impetus to the movement in the Antipodes has been given during the last nine years by the visits of Zionist emissaries from Europe, who not only strengthened the existing societies but established new ones. These visits were part of the new policy inaugurated by the Zionist Executive in London immediately after the conferring of the Palestine Mandate on Great Britain. The present writer was the first to undertake (in 1920) a tour to Australia and New Zealand, after which he traveled to the Jewish communities in China, Japan, Singapore, Java and India. He was followed in later years by Dr. Alexander Goldstein and Madame Bella Pevsner. Their work has borne fruit in Australia, where a Zionist Federation has now been established, of which the honorary president is General Sir John Monash, and the secretary of which (Mr. M. Ettinger)

as been supplied by the Head Offices of the Keren ayesod and the Keren Kayemeth. The work in ew Zealand is mainly confined to Auckland and /ellington; there, especially in the former city, omparatively large sums are raised for Zionist urposes, including a special fund for infant welfare work in Palestine. The Auckland Society, of which he Rev. S. A. Goldstein has been the active president or many years, is now celebrating its semi-jubilee.

OF the other communities of the British Empire in which Zionism is fostered, mention must be nade of Singapore and India. Owing to its smallness as well as to its remote isolation the Singapore ommunity is unable to carry on any sustained ctivity; but it responds generously to every visiting epresentative of the Zionist Organization. The same observation holds good in regard to the communities n Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon, where there are no regularly functioning ocieties, although practical sympathy with the cause is readily manifested; and it also applies to the little community at Hong-Kong.

An important link of connection between these various outposts of Jewry in the Far East is supplied by *Israel's Messenger*, the monthly journal edited by Mr. N. E. B. Ezra in Shanghai. Although not belonging to the British Empire Shanghai may thus be included in this survey. It possesses a small but stalwart band of Zionist workers who are zealously devoted to the Jewish national idea, and who may be relied upon to contribute their share—in service as in money—to the common cause.



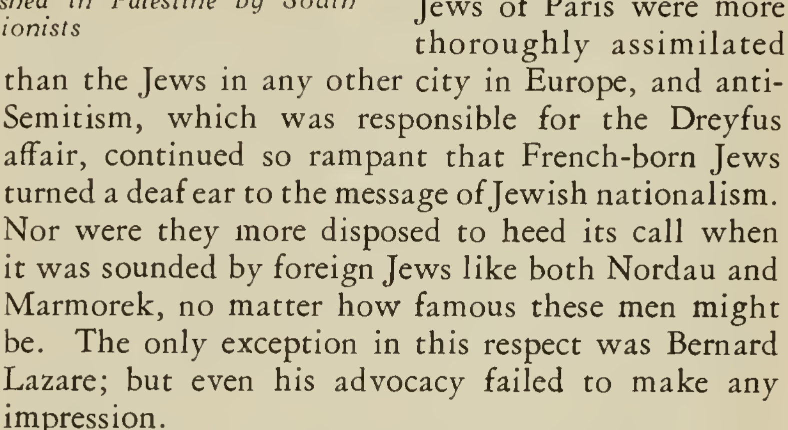
A SCENE IN KFAR YELADIM
The Children's Village Established in Palestine by South African Zionists

II

WESTERN EUROPE

A SURVEY of Zionism in Western Europe means, for the most part, an account of the activity in England and France, and as the former country has already been dealt with in the section on the British Empire, we have now to describe the developments in France, and then proceed to a brief consideration of the neighboring lands of Belgium and Holland. Spain and Portugal, which form the westernmost region of Europe, are practically negligible from the Zionist point of view, as they contain only small Jewish communities in which sustained work for the Jewish national cause has proved impracticable, though occasional visits are made there by a representative of the Keren Hayesod (Dr. A. Bension). Until the outbreak of the War, Zionism in France meant Zionism in Paris, for although there are numerous Jewish communities throughout the country no attempt was made to carry on propaganda among them. The reason is that although Paris always had distinguished Zionists it never possessed an efficient organization.

It was in Paris that Herzl was inspired to write his *Judenstaat;* it was there that Nordau lived and wrote for very many years; and there likewise that Alexander Marmorek lived and spoke. Nordau and Marmorek received ovations not only when they spoke at Congresses, but also when they addressed meetings in Paris; but despite the international fame and matchless eloquence of the one, and the unselfish zeal and ardor of the other, they were unable to build up a strong local society. The truth is, of course, that Nordau did not concern himself with questions of local organization, nor could he have been expected to do so; and although Marmorek did occupy himself with these questions he was such an outspoken party man that the inevitable internal differences—largely revolving round the virtues of "political" and "practical" Zionism—prevented the growth of a stable organization. There were other reasons, too, that prevented progress. The Jews of Paris were more thoroughly assimilated than the Jews in any other city in Europe, and anti-Semitism, which was responsible for the Dreyfus affair, continued so rampant that French-born Jews turned a deaf ear to the message of Jewish nationalism. Nor were they more disposed to heed its call when it was sounded by foreign Jews like both Nordau and Marmorek, no matter how famous these men might be. The only exception in this respect was Bernard Lazare; but even his advocacy failed to make any impression.



Since the Peace Conference Paris has been the scene of a great deal of Zionist activity. First came the Zionist leaders themselves—Weizmann, Sokolow and Ussishkin—to submit the demands of the Jewish people to the Peace Conference; and then came numerous representatives of Jewish communities from both sides of the Atlantic—but especially from Eastern Europe—for the purpose of demanding legal safeguards for Jewish rights in the new states that were being created, and in certain old ones that were being refashioned. Later there set in a steady immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe who were weary of the oppression they had suffered so long in their native lands, particularly in Russia and Poland, and



LEON BLUM
Leader of the Socialist Party in France: Staunch Supporter of Jewish National Aspirations

who sought the hospitality which was readily given them in the French capital. New life was thus infused into the lethargic community, with the result that more was heard of Jewish national aspirations than ever before. Public meetings were held more frequently, Zionist balls became popular, and Zionist journals struggled for existence. But the new arrivals consisted of so many varied elements that it was found impossible to fuse them. An initial difficulty consisted in the critical attitude toward the policy of the Zionist Executive taken up by Nordau and Marmorek, who had returned after their years of absence; and even after they had passed away some of their followers were still prompted by feelings of personal attachment to continue an opposition that made efficient organization impossible. The result is that although Zionism has now permeated the atmosphere of French Jewry to an extent never dreamed before the War, it cannot yet boast a properly functioning organization.

In some respects, indeed, Zionism has made notable conquests in France. There is the society France-Palestine, founded by Dr. Victor Jacobson, which, under the chairmanship of the ex-Cabinet Minister Justin Godart, comprises in its Executive some of the leading figures in the political and intellectual life of the capital, including the Socialist leader Leon Blum, and which exerts a valuable political and educational influence. Then there is the genuine interest that has been aroused in Jewish culture, which has found expression in the publication of a number of books of either a belletristic or popular scientific character by writers like André Spire, Edmond Fleg, and others; and attempts have been made to maintain a Jewish literary review. There is, further, the successful establishment of the *Union Universelle de la Jeunesse Juive*, a youth organization comprising societies in most French-speaking countries, and enjoying the support of members in Italy, the Balkans, Egypt and Morocco. Although not affiliated with the Zionist Organization, the *Union Universelle de la Jeunesse Juive* does much to promote Jewish national consciousness among the younger generation, and possesses great potentialities. Its inspiring leader is Aimé Pallière, the pious proselyte who has told the story of his conversion to Judaism in a remarkable book.

One part of France, however, has Zionist societies that carry on regular activity—namely, Alsace-Lorraine. These societies, of which the most important are in Strassbourg, belonged to the German Federation before the War. They have found it impossible to combine with the ever-changing organization in Paris, but hold periodical local conferences and perform much useful work, with the support of a weekly paper, *La Tribune*.

IN Belgium the principal center of Zionist activity is Antwerp, which contains the largest Jewish community of the country. The Federation comprises a number of societies in that city as well as in Brussels, Ghent, Liège and Charleroi. The last-named town contains a colony of Polish Jews who are employed in the coal mines and factories. The organ of the Federation, *Hatikvah*, is a well-conducted fortnightly. Although not very numerous, the Zionists in Belgium include representatives of various parties; and there are several very promising youth societies. In recent years the movement has gained the powerful advocacy of the ex-Prime Minister M. Vandervelde, who has paid a visit to Palestine and written a thoughtful book on his impressions. The society in Luxembourg was formerly affiliated with the Belgian Federation, but as it belongs to an independent state it now has assumed independence for itself also.

Zionism in Holland presents much the same general features as in Belgium. The Federation, whose headquarters are in Amsterdam, comprises over twenty local societies in all the principal communities. It also includes a Mizrachi and Students' Organization; but the Poale Zion are not affiliated. The Netherlands Federation, whose organ, the *Joodsche Wachter*, can look back upon many years of fruitful propaganda, has furnished several Zionist pioneers for the Dutch East Indies, especially Java, whither they have gone either to take up Government appointments or to engage in business.

III
EASTERN EUROPE

THE Jewish national consciousness has always been felt most intensely and expressed most vigorously in Eastern Europe. It was fostered in the compact Jewish communities that have been concentrated there for centuries, nurtured by the intellectual traditions that have survived through the ages, and stimulated by the goad of oppression. Thus it was that throughout the time of Herzl Russia provided the largest proportion of his followers, even though he was a Westerner and the Jewish subjects of the Czar were Easterners. The propagation of Zionism was tolerated at times and persecuted at others, according to the caprice of local authorities or a hint from the central government,

but organization was hardly necessary for the spread of the idea among the masses: it was immanent among them. And even though there were serious obstacles in the way of forming societies and holding conferences, means were found for the distribution of *Shekolim* and for carrying on various branches of Zionist work. At the Congresses that followed the death of Herzl, just as at those held during his lifetime, the delegates from Russia formed at least a third of the total number. They played an important, and often a decisive part in the proceedings, and far more Russian was spoken than English: even translations from German into Russian were demanded. Throughout the decade that elapsed between the death of the leaders and the beginning of the War the Russian Zionists formed the backbone of the movement and figured at the head of all lists of contributions, whether to the Jewish National Fund, the Central Fund (which then supplemented the *shekel*), or any other collection for Palestinian purposes.

Since the War, however, a complete transformation has taken place in Zionist activity in Eastern Europe. In Russia it is forbidden altogether and is persecuted ruthlessly. But fortunately Russian Jewry no longer comprises the overwhelming bulk of the Jews of Eastern Europe, as it did until about ten years ago. Half of them were settled in those westerly regions of the Muscovite Empire which became independent, and they thus acquired their political emancipation that enabled them to devote their energies to Zionism without let or hindrance. They are the Jews in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Finland and Bessarabia, and it is the story of Zionist activity in these countries as well as in Rumania, and of enforced inactivity in Russia and Turkey, that will be told here.

Zionism in the greater part of Eastern Europe is a much more vital and active force than in any other part of the world—except the land in which it is being realized. It penetrates deeply into all manifestations and ramifications of Jewish life. In Poland, Lithuania and Latvia, and to a less extent in Rumania (though almost to an equal extent in Bessarabia, which is part of Rumania) every Jew belongs to some party or other: either he is a Zionist, an Agudist, a "Folkist," a Socialist, a Bundist or an Assimilationist. There is a ceaseless struggle between all these parties, which often contain conflicting groups within themselves, each striving for the supremacy of its own principles and for a decisive and dominating influence in Jewish affairs. The activity of the Zionist is not confined, as in Western Europe or America, merely to membership of a society in which he hears speeches or lectures, however elevating, and to the support of Zionist funds. It takes the form of a constant fight for the recognition of the Jewish nationality and all its implications, not only for the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine but also for the acknowledgment of the rights of the Jews as a national minority in the lands of which they are citizens. The Zionists take up a determined stand not only within the Jewish community for the purpose of insuring the maintenance of schools on a Jewish national basis, with Hebrew as the medium of instruction, and also the appointment of Rabbis who are themselves Zionists, they carry the fight into the general community and seek election to municipal councils and to Parliament on a purely Zionist platform. Their efforts have been crowned with an increasing measure of success both within and without the Jewish community. At the last elections to the Sejm in Poland the only Jewish party that was successful was the Zionist, which returned fifteen members. There are also Zionist members of Parliament in Lithuania, Latvia and Rumania, and Zionist Senators in Poland and Rumania.

In the cultural domain the Zionists during the last ten or twelve years have made much headway with the establishment of schools in which Hebrew is the medium of instruction. They have encountered the resistance of Socialists, Bundists and "Folkists," who maintain that Yiddish is the only legitimate language of the Jewish people and strive to secure its use in place of Hebrew or the vernacular. But Hebrew is in the ascendant. The Hebrew system, which is called *Tarbuth*, comprises 141 schools with 16,600 pupils in Poland, whilst the Yiddish system has 95 schools with 11,800 pupils. The *Tarbuth* system also prevails in Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia (in the region known as Carpatho-Russia). Its predominance is particularly striking in Lithuania, where there are 150 Hebrew schools attended by over 12,000 pupils, who comprise seventy-five per cent. of all the Jewish school-children in the country; another ten per cent. attend Orthodox establishments in which Hebrew preponderates, while only six and five-tenths per cent. are at Yiddish schools (the remainder going to Russian, German and Lithuanian institutions).

The inevitable result of the prevalence of Jewish national education is that the younger generation are conscious and intelligent Zionists before they leave school and that there is a great abundance of Youth organizations. These organizations belong to different parties—to the general Zionists, to the Mizrachi and to various shades of Left parties. Or the youths join one of the many Chalutz organizations (which have their own world federation) or Hashomer Hazair, a scout organization, which also has offshoots, Hashomer Hatahor, and Hashomer Haleumi, comprising members who declare that their principles are more faithful to the undiluted ideal of Jewish nationalism. These various bodies, especially the Hechalutz organizations, provide the training ground in which the young Jew is prepared intellectually, morally and technically for settlement in Palestine. For the Jews of Eastern Europe supply the majority of the picked workers who go out to build up the Jewish Homeland. To them Zionism is a movement

that does not mean the cherishing of an ideal from afar, but strenuous co-operation in its realization on the spot.

STRONG as the Jewish national sentiment undoubtedly is in all parts of Eastern Europe, it would be a much more vigorous force but for two things—the splitting of the movement into a multitude of parties, fractions, and "fractionlets," and the lack of a disciplined sense of organization. These defects are most pronounced in Poland: they are due partly to the psychology of the Eastern Jew, to his overintellectualized mind and his highly developed emotions, and partly to the geographical and political conditions of his environment. There are four main regions in Poland—Congress Poland, West Galicia, East Galicia and Vilna—but owing to political differences and differences of outlook arising from local conditions all efforts that have been made to bring about one strong united organization for the whole country have hitherto failed. Nay, even in Congress Poland itself the differences on certain questions—particularly the extension of the Jewish Agency—have been so acute that it has been found impossible to build up a strong organization for that region alone. The two main parties of the general Zionists, known as Al Hamishmar (headed by Deputy Gruenbaum) and Eth Livnoth, have fought one another with a vehemence which would have been better applied to combating their common foes. Recently a reconciliation has been effected, induced by recognition of the fact that the needs of Palestine are paramount and that effective material assistance can be rendered only by a united Zionist front.

LITHUANIA is happily less troubled with such acute differences, and possesses a more efficient organization; but this cannot be said of Latvia, though its material contributions are satisfactory. On the other hand, in Rumania we find that despite internal differences there are good local organizations. After Poland (Soviet Jewry being put out of action) Rumania has the next largest Jewish community, with nearly a million souls; and it is therefore of importance that it should contribute its proper share towards the great national work. Like Poland it also consists of four main regions—Old Rumania, Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia; but fortunately the Zionists of these different parts, whilst naturally differing from one another in cultural respects, are able to find a common platform on which they can work together. This combination, expressed in the form of a "Supreme Council" for all Rumania, is of comparatively recent date, and has been furthered by the success of the Zionists at the last general election. As Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia have all returned Zionist deputies to Parliament, they are able regularly to confer with the leading Zionists in Bucharest.

Of all the Balkan countries Rumania unquestionably plays the most important part in our movement. Bulgaria has a much smaller community, but Zionist sentiment is much stronger there. It is the only community in Europe that imposes an annual tax on its members as a contribution to the Keren Hayesod. Whether this method is as beneficial to the fund as special and voluntary donations would be, is doubtful; but in any case it is an indication of the dominating part played by Zionists in the administration of the communities. On the other hand, in Turkey Zionism is absolutely quiescent. The Turkish Government will not allow any form of Zionist activity. It is perhaps not to be wondered at that Turkey, having lost Palestine, will not permit her Jewish subjects to do anything for its reconstruction under the British Mandate. Besides, the Jews of Turkey have been made to abandon their rights as a national minority secured for them by the Peace Treaty, so anxious is the Government of Kemal Pasha to efface all ethnical distinctions. It follows therefrom that no toleration will be extended towards a movement which means the assertion by the Jews of their national sentiment. Even before the War, however, the Jews of Turkey played little—or no—useful part in Zionist endeavors; and hence, though their present enforced impotence is regrettable, it does not represent as serious a loss as might otherwise have been the case.

GREAT and grave, however, is the loss that has been and is being sustained in Russia, where Zionism is the subject of relentless persecution on the part of the Soviet Government. The reason advanced for this hostility is that Zionism is a counter-revolutionary movement and an agency of British imperialism. Needless to say, this charge is utterly unfounded. The Zionists in Russia are no more concerned with the Soviet system of government (except insofar as they are denied liberty of thought and speech) than are the Zionists in Western Europe or any other part of the world with the particular form of government under which they live. But the *Yevsektsia*, the Jewish section of the Communist party, which is invested with full authority in regard to Jewish affairs, pursues all those who are in favor of the Zionist ideal with a vindictiveness and violence that are reminiscent of the days of the Inquisition. The teaching of Hebrew is forbidden, the printing of Hebrew books is suppressed. Zionists are spied upon and tracked down like enemies of the State: they are clapped into jail and kept there, in the company of thieves and murderers, for months without trial; and then they are sentenced by administrative decree, as in the worst days of the Czardom, to three years' banishment to remote and inclement regions. They are confined in special political prisons, called *politisolators*, or deported to Northern Russia, Siberia, or Turkestan, where they are doomed to idleness, privation, suffering, and slow but sure demoralization.

The war that the Soviet Government has been conducting against Zionism began about 1922. Even before then the Jewish national movement was proscribed, but its adherents were not pursued with such unremitting fury. Sufficient time had been gained by the active workers to spread the Zionist doctrine as the only salvation of the Jewish people, and sufficient success had been gained in all parts of the vast country to create a stalwart band of 30,000 brave followers. The propaganda had to be carried on by word of mouth, whispered in secrecy, and at the peril of one's life, for the myrmidons of the Cheka or the G. P. U. were unceasing in their hunt. The work was helped very largely by leaflets and bulletins relating to Zionist activity and the developments in Palestine which were printed by secret presses and circulated with every precaution. The leaders met from time to time in conference, known to one another only by a pseudonym but not by their real names (for they could take no risks of betrayal), to discuss plans for further activity, and then dispersed to the various provinces. Their labors must have been not only ingenious and dangerous, but also thorough and comprehensive. United by the common wish to spread the principles of Zionism, they were nevertheless divided in their views as to these principles, for some belonged to the Right and others to the Left Wing of the Socialist party—some were Hitachduth and others were Z. S.—while others again were general Zionists. Thousands joined the youth organizations, and hundreds flocked to the Hechalutz societies. The Government made a pretense for some time of tolerating the Hechalutz movement, so that there were at one and the same time a legal Hechalutz as well as an illegal Hechalutz. Both wings of this pioneer movement had their agricultural farms for training purposes, on which many hundreds have been prepared for the life of settlers in Palestine. But the farms of the illegal Hechalutz were discovered and dissolved, and then, after the lapse of another few years, the Government relented from its tolerance and also disbanded the farms of the legal Hechalutz and imprisoned its leaders.

Now and again the Government allows the Zionists to proceed to Palestine: it "banishes" them to that country, to use its own language. But before these fortunate beings can leave they must pay an exorbitant fee for a passport, and they endure a tantalizing ordeal until they can find the money. They are envied by their fellow Zionists who are doomed to remain behind, for the life of a Zionist in Russia is the modern equivalent of medieval martyrdom. Between 1,500 and 2,000 staunch adherents of the Jewish national idea are still languishing in jails or starving in exile. Many of their comrades have died in captivity, after the most savage ill-treatment; some have put an end to their sufferings with their own hand.

The Zionists in Russia during the last ten years have contributed in men and muscle to the laborious task of the rejuvenation of the Land of Israel. They have done even more: they have presented to the world, after the world's worst war, a sustained spectacle of heroic self-sacrifice in the face of unremitting tyranny, in service dedicated to a sacred ideal.

IV
SOUTH AMERICA

In few countries has there been such a notable advance in Zionist activity during the last ten years as in South America. Before the War the only part of that continent where the Jewish national movement had any adherents was Argentina; but the work of propaganda was difficult, for the number of active supporters was small and the Jewish community was scattered over such a vast area. During the last decade there has not only been a considerable improvement in Argentina, but systematic and satisfactory endeavors on behalf of our cause have been organized and are carried on also in Brazil, Chile and Peru.

The progress that has been made in recent years is due to two main factors: the considerable immigration of Eastern European Jews to various parts of South America, and the propaganda tours of Zionist emissaries. Argentina now has a Jewish population of 200,000 (half of which is concentrated in Buenos Aires), Brazil of about 34,000 and Chile of 5,000. Jewish life in Argentina has now assumed some of the features characteristic of a vigorous Jewish community in Europe or the United States, one of the most important of which is the keen interest displayed in the Zionist movement. This is manifested both in the work of the Zionist Federation and its seventy constituent societies and in the Jewish press, which comprises papers in Yiddish, Spanish, and Hebrew. The Federation has a weekly organ, *Die Yiddishe Welt*, which is well edited and exercises an excellent influence, whilst the popular Yiddish daily, *Die Yiddishe Zeitung*, also gives much space to news and articles about the Zionist movement. The two Spanish weeklies, *El Semanario Hebreo* and *Israel*, as well as the Hebrew monthly, are also very favorably disposed to the cause; and happily the general press, especially *La Nacion*, is likewise sympathetic. The influence of these journals is not confined to Buenos Aires, but extends throughout all the communities in the provinces, including the large agricultural colonies that owe their establishment to the philanthropy of the late Baron de Hirsch and to the administration of the Jewish Colonization Association.

The three men who have done so much in recent years to infuse the national spirit into the Jews of Argentina and of other parts of South America are Dr. J. Wilenski, Mr. Jacob Ettinger and Dr. A. Bension. They have addressed themselves both to the Ashkenazic and the Sephardic congregations, while Dr. Bension has worked more particularly among the

latter, among whom he has founded B'nai Kedem societies. The interest that has been aroused among the Jewish farmers in Argentina and Brazil is particularly noteworthy, and it is gratifying to find that this is shared not only by the original settlers from Eastern Europe but also by their children born on the soil of South America. Whether that interest will also be shown by the third generation, who are being educated in the Government schools, remains to be seen.

The Jewish community in Chile is very much smaller than that of Argentine or Brazil, but its national consciousness finds much more vigorous expression both culturally and materially. On the one hand there are a number of Hebrew schools in which the children are trained in the Jewish national spirit; and on the other hand the members of the community contribute most generously to every appeal for Palestine funds. A similar attachment to the Zionist ideal is manifested by the Jews in Peru, particularly in Lima, where there is a Hebrew kindergarten which is later to be developed into a school.

The great difficulties that stand in the way of more rapid progress on the part of Zionism in South America consist in the vast distances that separate the provincial communities in Argentina from the capital and in the remoteness and smallness of the communities in the other countries. With an increase of immigration, however, the prospects for the Zionist movement will doubtless improve, especially if, as is likely, visits by emissaries from Palestine will continue to be made in the future.

V

THE ORIENT

THE cultivation of the Jewish national consciousness in the Orient is relatively easy, for despite the many centuries of continuous settlement in that region the Jews have maintained their own traditions and customs intact and remained loyal to the faith of their forefathers in a far greater degree than their brethren in the Occident. The Jews in Morocco do not regard themselves as Moroccans of the Jewish faith; similarly in China, where the residence of the Jews is comparatively recent (if we leave out of account the now defunct colony at Kai-Fung-Foo), one never hears of a "Chinaman of the Jewish persuasion." Throughout the East the Jews who are natives of the East look upon themselves as members of the Jewish nation, and, for the most part, need no propaganda addresses for the purpose of fostering their Jewish national spirit, although here and there assimilation is preached. But in respect to organization and to the active support of Zionism and of our work in Palestine, they leave very much to be desired. The Jewish communities in the Orient are accustomed to seeing their communal affairs conducted by one or two men—generally by one, for if there are two leading spirits there is often disunion—and hence they have not yet learned how to organize on a democratic and representative basis and to carry on systematic and efficient work. In addition to this psychological factor, there are also in certain countries political difficulties due to the ignorance or intolerance of the local authorities.

During the last ten years the Zionist Organization has done a great deal towards improving the state of organization among the Jews in the Orient for Zionist purposes. Delegates of the Executive, of the Keren Hayesod and of the Jewish National Fund have visited all parts of the East, from Tangier to Shanghai, and from Bagdad to Singapore. They have all been received with cordiality, but the material results of their efforts have varied according to local conditions and economic circumstances.

In the north of Africa the most active Zionist center is in Tunisia, where there are societies in all the leading Jewish communities. There are also branches of the *Union Universelle de la Jeunesse Juive*. The only important Zionist paper is the weekly *Le Reveil Juif*, which is published in Sfax, but unfortunately there are also Jewish papers in the country which are opposed to Zionism. Progress in Morocco has been rendered difficult owing to the attitude of the authorities, but nevertheless steady work is being carried on. In Tripolitania the work is under the general direction of the Italian Zionist Federation, which sends visiting propagandists from time to time. In Egypt there are societies in both Cairo and Alexandria, but unfortunately the rivalry between the two communities has prevented combined action. These societies have the advantage of proximity to Palestine, as prominent Zionists passing through the country from time to time are invited to address meetings.

In the countries of the Near East it has not been possible to make considerable headway owing to political considerations, particularly because of the hostility of Arab politicians to the idea of the Jewish National Home. This accounts for the lack of progress in Iraq and Syria, though individual friends of our movement in Bagdad have shown themselves very generous, especially to the Keren Hayesod. Organization in Persia is difficult owing partly to the attitude of the Government and partly to communal differences, but the Zionist Executive is watching the position. A delegate from Jerusalem was sent to Persia some months ago to endeavor to secure the legalization of Zionist activity, but nothing definite is yet known as regards the results of his efforts. There are no such obstacles in the way of the Zionists in India and in the countries farther East, but unfortunately the lack of local leaders makes the degree of activity there for our cause depend upon the visits of Zionist emissaries from Europe or Palestine. Much more could be achieved if those visits became regular events without too long an interval intervening, for the heart of the Jew in the East naturally turns towards Zion.

As a Friend Knew Him

A Reminiscence of Herzl and His Influence in Literary Vienna

By FELIX SALTEN

Gifted with a prose of extreme simplicity, Felix Salten has graduall ned eminence in the European literary world. America became acquainted h him last year through his best-selling novel of animal life, "Bambi." this sketch Salten remembers Theodor Herzl the man and his literary l, for whose Zionist paper, "Die Welt," he often wrote. Due to the e arrival of this manuscript, it has been placed in this section and not Section I where it properly belongs.

EVEN his very first impression upon me was extraordinarily powerful. It was unforgettable, that meeting: I was a mere youth, employed in e editorial office of a Viennese evening paper; one e day the door opened—majestically, so to speak— d Theodor Herzl was in the room.

Vigorously, gaily he voiced his greeting: "I call my colleagues!" As he had just completed the rangements for his permanent transfer from Paris lid not quite understand what he might want in our fice. I had, of course, long been an admirer of his aceful, witty, spirited feuilletons. But it developed at he had not come for a discussion of literary atters. He had brought in his *Judenstaat*, and was eking to win our paper over to his cause.

I read his pamphlet the day he gave it to me; and -day I may confess that the reading of it released y spirit. At that time political and social anti- mitism—encouraged by the Mayor, Dr. Lueger— as making triumphal progress in Vienna; Paris was ving its Dreyfus affair. It is difficult to describe y position as a young author and a Jew: All about e was diffidence, servile acceptance of the demagogic ueger's success or, at most, waggery or venomous lemics. Only the voice of Theodor Herzl was nuinely Jewish. My talks with him—at a time hen rapid growth was still a natural process for y youthful mind—soon brought me to a recognition the degeneracy of the Jews in the large cities of estern Europe.

Theodor Herzl—who naturally felt this much more ofoundly and much more painfully than I—gradu- y became filled with ineffable bitterness. Yet his light at every recruit to his ranks was great; thus welcomed me affectionately when I came to him d told him that I would publicly espouse his cause. on after he began to publish a Zionist weekly, e *Welt*, for which I wrote many articles. I often et him at the printer's; and he fascinated me again d again with his unique mixture of embitterment d gayety, confidence and momentary despair, irony d immutability of purpose.

Particularly, however, I remember a meeting with m at Alt-Aussee, a summer resort in the Styrian untains frequented by fashionable Viennese so- ety. He was wearing the Styrian peasant costume: leather breeches that left his knees bare, a broad belt, a short jacket of rough green cloth and a hunter's hat of green ornamented with an enormous chamois beard. Naturally I was struck by the curious contrast between this attire and his position as the Zionist leader, and could not refrain from remarking upon it. He smiled; but a little later, grown thoughtful, he suggested that his costume might be a symbol of the tragic situation he shared with so many others. That day in Alt-Aussee has made a lasting impress upon my memory.

I recall one of the last times I saw him—a melan- choly experience. It was a fine Sunday afternoon; my wife and I were promenading on the Ringstrasse. We felt very happy—we had been married only a few weeks—and were laughing exuberantly. I no longer know at what we were laughing, for suddenly our mirth was extinguished: Theodor Herzl stood before us. "Children," he said with an attempt at a smile, "how I envy you! You cannot imagine how I yearn, how I thirst to feel such joyousness again!" We were profoundly moved—not only by his words, but by his appearance. He looked pale and exhausted: his eyes bespoke deep pain. We walked with him for a while; and everything he said expressed dis- couragement, disappointment and sorrow.

Not long after this I heard that Theodor Herzl had fallen ill. But I was not alarmed until a friend told me that he had visited Herzl in Edlach and had found him near death. "I am like a tree that has been felled," Herzl had told this friend. I found it hard to believe. I resolved, however, to obey the summons of Herzl, who had asked my friend to tell me to visit him in Edlach soon. But before I had an opportunity to see him it was too late.

One beautiful morning, early that summer, I was sitting on the lawn before our suburban house, enjoy- ing the prospect of distant Vienna, when a messenger from my paper came up the grassy slope. He handed me a slip on which was written: "Theodor Herzl is dead." But even then I was unable to believe the crushing truth. Indeed, I wrote his obituary notice without fully realizing that he was actually dead.

Only when he was borne to his grave on the lofty *Türkenschanze*, when, together with Arthur Schnitzler and Hermann Bahr, I saw the enormous train of his funeral procession—only then did I understand how appalling was the loss which Jewry had suffered. But of all the mournful scenes there the most heart- breaking was the sight of Herzl's mother—dry-eyed, her face unmoving as if carved out of stone, following the coffin with the tragic dignity of a Biblical figure.

Zionism in Central Europe

Its Trials and Problems in the Last Quarter Century

By DR. ROBERT WELTSCH

No one has a keener insight into the history of the development of the Zionist movement since Herzl's time than the author of this article, who is Editor of "Die Jüdische Rundschau" of Berlin. In a comprehensive manner, Dr. Weltsch reviews the controversies within Zionism that ensued after Herzl's death and the problems which confronted Zionism in Central Europe before, during and after the World War. Dr. Weltsch's article throws important light on the progress of Zionism throughout the world.

THAT the Zionist movement has developed enormously in the twenty-five years since the death of its great founder, Theodor Herzl, appears quite natural when we consider that he himself was a member of our Organization for only seven years. The great problems which later became the decisive factors in Zionism and formed the basis for its progress had not yet been crystallized when we lost him. Retrospectively the seven years of Herzl's activity appear as but a single moment—the moment of awakening, of emotional birth. For few of the concrete events of Herzl's period have retained any significance in the light of subsequent development. Deep-going internal changes were necessary before the movement was able to cope with the new situation that arose after Herzl's death. Perhaps in no other section of the Zionist world was this process of change as clearly evident as in Central Europe, which had been the true Zionist center even in Herzl's day. But although Austria and Germany have gone through a considerable part of their Zionist development together, the two countries have at times been sharply differentiated. This especially because the old Austrian monarchy was not a nationally unified state, so that the part played by the question of nationalism there was greater and more in the public eye than was the case in Germany. Austria was the bridge to the East. And in Germany, too, the strong influence of the East gradually made itself perceptible, manifesting itself especially in the German universities, at which many Russians were pursuing their studies. This concourse of all the various currents of European life made Central Europe the laboratory of Zionist development.

Herzl's death left the movement desolate. Not only had its greatest personality disappeared, but all its hopes for the carrying through of Herzl's program were lost also. Herzl had recognized the true nature of the Jewish question and his practical political program envisaged the solution of this question at one stroke: Palestine was to be acquired from Turkey, and after this the migration of the Jews and the establishment of the Jewish State was to commence. As the impracticability of this program became more evident from year to year, Her[zl] took up other plans. Through his negotiatio[ns] with the British Government—which received hi[m] with more sympathy and understanding than ha[d] Turkey—he finally reached the Uganda projec[t,] which from the Zionist point of view appears as [a] gesture of despair. The rejection of this plan mea[nt] that the idea of obtaining a charter was practicall[y] given up. Then the question arose of just what th[e] Zionist Organization was to do in view of th[e] hopeless political situation. If it were to be regarde[d] merely as an instrument for the achievement of [a] definite political victory it had lost all meanin[g] when the prospect of success had disappeared. An[d] it was at this moment of gravest internal crisis tha[t] Herzl died.

What was to happen now? The Organizatio[n] was not capable of leading an independent existen[ce] of its own. Fortunately, memory of the leader['s] personality was so distinct that those prominent i[n] Zionism felt the full weight of the responsibilit[y] for the preservation of his greatest legacy, the Orgar[n]ization, and concentrated their first efforts upon i[ts] preservation. The fact that it persisted is due t[o] David Wolffsohn. But this would have been impo[s]sible had not Zionism undergone, in the meanwhil[e] a great internal development which gradually altere[d] its character. The Zionist Organization was pe[r]meated with all the energies and forces of awaken[]ing Jewish nationalism. As a result neither politic[al] failure nor the death of the leader was able to destro[y] Zionism, for it had come to personify a popula[r] movement that comprehended every phase of incipi[]ent national life. It had become the representativ[e] of the people and of its will to live.

LIKE the national movements of most othe[r] peoples, Zionism presents an inner conflic[t] between two tendencies which, though not repre[] sented in all their purity by their exponents, a[re] nonetheless quite distinct. One of these finds i[ts] origin in the external situation of the people, i[n] social and economic difficulties and lack of politic[al] rights; the aim of this tendency is a radical chang[e] in that situation to be brought about by politic[al] emancipation in the highest degree possible. Th[e] other point of view sees the wretchedness of Jew[ry] as due to internal rather than external causes. Depar[t]ing from the eternal ideals of the people—its nation[al] assets—its representatives are distressed at t[he] spiritual enthralment of both the group and th[e]

ividual. They realize that national awakening a process of gradual education, that the people nnot be ripe for political independence until it has hieved national consciousness and inner certainty. thout attempting to determine the comparative lues of these two fundamental tendencies we ould point out that the first of them finds full pression in single concrete deeds, in various actions an organizational or political nature in which ly a few individuals can take part, while the her gives immeasurable content and the possiity of continuous personal participation to our tire national life and to every member of the ovement. Within the Zionist movement the incipal representatives of the revival of Jewish ltural values were the Russian Zionists, who, as ect heirs of the Haskalah and the Hebrew renaisnce, had brought these forces into the national ovement.

The West European Zionists, on the other hand, ostly espoused the cause only after the appearance Herzl, so that among them the movement retained purely political aspect. Originally Western Zionn—represented chiefly by Germany and Austria Herzl's day—was based on two principal motives: philanthropic sentiment of pity for the "wretched ssian Jews," whose position seemed exceedingly plorable to the assimilated and emancipated Jews Europe; and a feeling of profound inner emanation—especially on the part of the youth— m the contempt which had hitherto been the are of Jewry in the exceedingly anti-Semitic lands Western Europe.

Before this the Jews had attempted to escape from eir difficult position by dissimulating their Jewness; now, however, Zionism offered them a new urse, one distinguished by sincerity and dignity, d therefore capable of releasing them from their iritual torment. But neither philanthropic motives r mere confession of Judaism were sufficient to aintain the movement permanently. After the st flash of enthusiasm had died away the problems every-day life demanded recognition. The Zionm of Herzl had not needed to take these into account, its political activity was expected to reach its al in a very short time. After Herzl's death, hower, there arose the problem of how the movement was to continue without the hope of early ccess.

Such are the questions, explicit and implicit, which cupied the central position in the Zionist world particularly in Germany and Austria—after the ath of Herzl. Russian Zionism had preserved its adition of the Chibath Zion days, had never ceased actical colonization activity in Palestine, though e scale on which this was carried on was very small, d had never harbored a doubt as to the identity of onism and the national—that is, Hebrew—renaisnce. In Western Europe, however, Zionism had t to gain its national significance.

THE evolution of Central European Zionism in this period is dominated and characterized by a violent effort to reach inner clarification. There were no important external developments, so that even propaganda was forced to reorient itself; and thus the theory and philosophy of Zionism received additional interest. The young men, especially, grew dissatisfied with the old slogans. In Herzl's time the chief adherents of the movement in Germany and Austria had been the students. But the form of their organization was modeled faithfully after the usages of their environment: their clubs copied the German *Burschenschaften*, the university fraternities that laid great stress upon dueling. Gradually this form began to meet with opposition, and it was recognized that it expressed the very assimilationist tendency which was being combated. Moreover, these external trappings of a new Jewish life could not bring the young men permanent satisfaction; for they wanted to gain something to which they could adhere all their lives, wanted to know how they could throw off the yoke of assimilation and find a new content for their lives. Now they began to inquire after the inner meaning of Judaism, the higher significance of Zionism, the value of Judaism for humanity. They recognized that to be a Zionist meant more than the mere payment of one's *shekel*. The Zionist ideology involved the creation of a new Jew who would be a whole and complete human being; and, accordingly, it demanded a change in the mode of life itself, and not mere superficial acknowledgment of the Zionist principles. Herzl had expected this change to take place as a result of migration to the Jewish State in Palestine.

But after it was realized that such migration was, for the moment, impossible for most, another solution was sought. Zionism had to become an ethical force in the life of the individual. The ideas of Russian Zionism penetrated Germany. The newly established *Jüdische Verlag* of Berlin published a number of important works in German translation – chief among them being the writings of Ahad Ha-am, whose effect upon the younger generation of German Zionism was profound. The idea that in addition to the question of the Jew there exists the question of Judaism, and that it is the task of Zionism to solve both, altered much in the inner relationship of the individual to the movement. For at once it became clear that even in the countries where the Jew is not subject to physical persecution Zionism is not merely a solution for the difficulties of others, of his oppressed brethren in the East, but the personal concern of every one. The continuous, positive relationship to Judaism and Jewish culture, which had been lost, had to be restored to the life of the individual. In this manner philanthropic Zionism gradually gave way to an integral Zionist ideology. This evolution was accompanied by sharp conflicts between the younger and the older generation which

occupied the first decade following Herzl's death—the period from 1904 to 1914.

This violent strife was reflected in the Organization as a whole also. In the course of the altercations between the two great parties of that time—who called themselves "political" and "practical" Zionists—Nordau, at the Ninth Congress, uttered the words that were received with such hostility: "We must wait." According to the purely political Zionists all practical colonization work had to wait until the charter should have been obtained. This view, however, was opposed to the natural desire of the masses, who did not want to continue without practical activity for any considerable length of time. The people refused to "wait." The victory of the practical tendency was inevitable, for it gave the individual Zionist the opportunity to carry on positive work in addition to mere agitation. The scene of this struggle was chiefly Central Europe, where the Zionist headquarters were then located. At first a large proportion of German Zionists were among the adherents of Wolffsohn; later, however, when the younger generation under the leadership of Kurt Blumenfeld gained the upper hand, this situation changed. To this course of development in Germany the defeat of Wolffsohn's and Nordau's policy of "waiting" at the Tenth Congress at Basle was largely due. The program of the new Executive chosen in 1911—whose seat was in Berlin, and which represented a coalition of German and Russian elements—provided for the vitalization of the movement itself by commencing practical work in Palestine and the Diaspora, by making the Hebrew cultural renaissance indissolubly a part of the Zionist movement and by putting the Organization upon a definitely democratic basis. For several years thereafter Berlin was the Zionist center; and this to a much greater extent than had formerly been the case with Vienna, where the personality of Herzl had been the determining factor, while in Berlin serious efforts were made to create an active nationalist center.

ANOTHER result of the desire for actual Zionist work was the taking up of tasks of immediate interest and significance. That this be done was emphatically demanded as early as the Fifth Congress, particularly by the so-called "democratic" group. But its point of view was generally accepted only after Herzl's death. Then it appeared that engaging upon cultural and social activity on a large scale might help fill the void that had been left in the movement after Herzl's plans had fallen through. The Zionists were forced to concern themselves with local Jewish affairs, lest they lose the support of the masses. This tendency manifested itself most characteristically in the rise of Jewish-nationalist political movements in the various countries, especially in Austria. Even in 1906 the Austrian Zionist Convention at Cracow resolved to launch an extensive campaign in their country, and to enter the l in the parliamentary elections. Despite the v lently terroristic tactics employed by the other part the first Zionist deputies were elected in 1907. T electoral contest afforded a unique opportunity Zionist propaganda. For the first time now Jewish masses became conscious of their own digni and the Jewish Club of the Austrian Parliame consisting of four members, was regarded as rep sentative of the Jewish national movement n only by Austrians, but by the entire Zionist wo There was, of course, no dearth of those who rejec this entry of Zionism into European politics as aberration from the true Zionist course; but intrinsic logic of this development would not denied. In 1911, at the next elections, the ov whelming terrorism of their opponents prevented reseating of the Jewish-nationalist deputies. Desp this, however, Jewish-nationalist political activ was recognized as an intrinsic part of Zionism then forth; and it offered great opportunities not o for the dissemination of the national idea, bu and primarily—for a direct expression of the Zion ideology in actual Jewish life. Zionism had l its remoteness, had become a part of the natu life of the people.

ESPECIAL mention must be made of the evo tion of socialist Zionism in Central Euro There the decade preceding the War was charact ized by a struggle for democracy. Step by step privileges were set aside and universal suffrage v obtained. This political conflict was led by socialist parties, the representatives of the worke and their efforts were supported by many Jev particularly by Jewish intellectuals. These foug for greater political freedom for the oppress partly because of general political and ethical co siderations, and partly because they expected democratization of Europe to bring with it a mo liberal attitude toward the Jews. Because of t sympathy with Socialism on the part of the Jewi intellectuals—as well as because of the constan increasing significance of Jewish labor, given a po tion of prominence and independence through t ever growing industrialization of Eastern Europe the desire arose to bring about an understandi between Zionism and Socialism. The idea th Socialism was capable of solving only the soc problem, and was unconnected with national qu tions, met with more and more recognition ev before the War in the Socialist camp, where abstract and somewhat dogmatic internationalis had originally denied altogether the importance national problems.

In Austria—the classic instance of such problems national sections were formed within the Soci Democratic movement. The leading theorists this movement in Austria realized that the Austri state could not continue to exist if its nation

roblems were not solved; it was they who drew p the program of national autonomy which culiinated in the proposal to give over to each nationlity within the state the independent, democratic dministration of its own national affairs. Among thers who accepted this program was the Jewishationalist party of Austria; and in the nationalist ewish camp it was the Socialists who wanted to pply this principle to Jewish life. Later, immeiately after the War, this theory—whose most rominent exponent was the Poale Zionist, Dr. Max losenfeld—played an important rôle; indeed, it may e considered the precursor of the so-called minority ights that have since been proclaimed by the eague of Nations.

Aside from this effect upon the internal political ituation of the country, however, the entry of soialist ideas into Zionism engendered important iew ideological currents in our movement itself. The hearts of the Zionist youth were captured by he concept that not only the national but also the ocial condition of the Jewish masses must be amelioated, that the Jewish National Homeland would iave to be built up on a new social basis different rom the capitalist order. Under the influence of Socialism it became clear that Herzl's idea of solving he Jewish question by the establishment of a soveeign Jewish state had been too formally legal in ts conception. A state cannot be created by means of a political formula or a purely juridical act, but nust be based upon that economic reality which is he fundament of every political configuration. Just as his realization led to the inception of practical colonization work in Palestine despite the opposition of purely Herzlian Zionism, so it also brought about a greater degree of understanding of socialist Zionism, which, although its organized adherents in Central Europe were very few before the War, exerted a great influence upon Zionist ideology and practice.

Before the War the task of Zionism was essentially that of propaganda. The extension of the Zionist ideology contributed greatly to its spreading the ideas of the Jewish renaissance in circles to which it had formerly had no access. The Jewish bourgeoisie, originally quite assimilationist in its tendencies, was finally, through the constant impact of Zionist ideas, brought to a contemplation of its own situation. Gradually the idea of Jewish nationalism—once rejected as utterly absurd—conquered these spirits, and especially the more intellectual of them. Under the influence of Zionism the art and literature of Germany began to concern themselves more and more with the Jewish question; people were no longer ashamed of being Jews. Even the anti-Zionists were forced to admit that Zionism had restored its dignity to Jewry. Thus—despite the collapse of Herzl's anticipations and the hopelessness of attaining the concrete goal of the Basle Program under Turkish rule—Zionism was making ideological and intellectual headway and bade fair to attain the spiritual leadership of Jewry. But at this juncture came the outbreak of the War, which turned the course of Zionist development into entirely new channels.

THE War precipitated a grave crisis in Zionist thought. The life of the individual was claimed in its entirety by the state; the Jews and Zionists of every country marched into battle together with their fellow-citizens, so that Jews fought one another on every front. The idea of Jewish unity, of Jewish nationalism, now seemed definitely absurd. Actually, however, the events of the War resulted in not a diminution, but a strengthening of Jewish national sentiment. As the flame of nationalism flared up throughout Europe we became more keenly conscious of racial differences, of the nature of national ties, of our own past and of the specific character of our future. After the first flush of patriotic fervor had passed, many Jews, reverting to their traditional point of view, recognized the barbarism and irrationality of war. Much of what transpired became incomprehensible to them; and as a result they became increasingly aware of the difference between themselves and the others—of their Jewishness. As the situation of the Central Powers grew worse, moreover, anti-Semitism manifested itself more and more openly. The German people required a scapegoat; and—as through all history—the Jews provided the most convenient material for it. On the Jews the anti-Semites fastened all the blame for the disastrous turn of affairs, for the German military defeats, for the food shortage prevailing in the country and for the rising flood of popular discontent. The effect of this was the awakening of Jewish pride and national consciousness even in many quarters theretofore untouched by Zionism. But the deciding factor of German Jewry's war experience was its close contact with East European Jews. The Jewish soldiers of the German army made their first acquaintance with Eastern Jews at the Russian front. And the great numbers of Jewish refugees who poured into Germany and Austria from the Eastern war zone revealed to Western Jewry an entirely new type of Jew—one who had preserved his Jewish culture and customs, who was maintaining folk-songs, theatres and a literature of his own. All these forms of cultural expression were studied by the Western Jews, and helped in the rousing of their latent national sentiment. At once the demand that this people, too, be assured of national life in the future appeared much more logical than before.

A detailed account of the experiences and development undergone by German Zionism during the War would take us too far afield. It was a difficult period, especially after it became clear that Palestine would come under English control. The favorable attitude of the Entente toward the Zionist demands resulted in an increasingly suspicious observation of

the Jews on the part of the army chiefs of both Germany and Austria. It was feared that the sympathies of the Zionists might go to England. At the same time the Zionists of Germany were forced to use all their energies and influence toward persuading—with the mediation of the German Government—Turkey not to be too severe in her treatment of the Palestinian Jews. For these were suspected of treason at that time; indeed, the Turks deported many Jews from Palestine, imprisoned a great many, and even put several to death. The task of counteracting this tendency fell to the German Zionists. And in addition to this political function the responsibility for the material support of the *Yishuv*—now cut off from all the world—also devolved upon them. We may say that they proved equal to both these difficult tasks.

In other respects, however, German Zionism had little opportunity for political activity within the world movement during the War. This circumstance intensified its cultural efforts and its work of preparation for the inevitable better day. It was felt that the War meant a critical interruption for us also; and our Jewish youth yearned for the moment when it would once more be able to devote its life and work to its own people. When the Balfour Declaration was given out we of Central Europe also knew that Zionism had reached an important milestone.

AS the War approached its end we of the Zionist camp became imbued with the feeling that a great, decisive moment of Zionist history lay before us. The Balfour Declaration assured us that now the demands of the Jewish people would be fulfilled. The full responsibility for it rested upon our generation. It was the young men who felt this most deeply—the young men who, in their four long years on the battle-field, had forgotten the peaceful, comfortable course of *bourgeois* life and, at the same time, were filled with distrust and horror of the old order which had precipitated such misery upon the world. For these young Jews there was an irresistible fascination in the idea of dissociating themselves entirely from that crumbling European world and building up a new life in another, still uncontaminated spot. "Weariness of Europe" became a current phrase. We can well understand, therefore, that even those sections of our Jewish youth who had never known anything of Zionism suddenly became inflamed with the idea of settling in Palestine.

Essentially, Jewish considerations were, of course, not absent; but in many cases the principal impetus was furnished by purely human motives. The older generation was not always favorably inclined toward these developments among the youth, but tended to doubt whether the new ideals would persist or could be realized. The young men, however, refused to be intimidated, and entered the lists against their elders in most spirited fashion. Now the antagoni between the older and younger Zionist generatic —who had been opposed even before the Wa found violent expression. All the party conferen immediately following the War were dominated this conflict; and, of course, many of the older Zioni lent their support to the youth. In Germany t internal struggle ended with the complete victory the younger generation. And the men who enjo its confidence—Felix Rosenblueth and, later, K Blumenfeld—were chosen as the leaders of Germ Zionism.

THE question upon which interest centered that time concerned the form the new Palest was to assume. Until then the principle of t National Home had been the object of all effor now, however, this general formula was adequ no longer—the plan according to which the Jew National Home was to be established had to defined. In Central Europe—shaken by revolutio influenced by Russia—all shades of thought uni in the socialist idea. Thus Central European Zic ism became decidedly socialistic in its trend. T 1919 conference of German Zionists, at which or questions connected with Palestine were discuss adopted a number of resolutions demanding th Palestine be built along socialist lines. The Zion labor parties suddenly achieved a position of un pected significance. And the youth, who felt certain bond between themselves and the work of Palestine, organized for the purpose of obtaini systematic agricultural training (*Hachsharah*). most all of our young Zionists fell under the sp of the Chalutz movement.

The Zionists, too, were faced with a new sit tion. It was no longer necessary for the Jews bicker about the Zionist question—the time h come for an organization of all Jewish forces Palestine. Now Zionism was confronted by proble quite different from those with which Herzl h had to cope twenty-five years before. For his s cessors, and especially Weizmann, had achie that for which Herzl had worked in vain—inter tional recognition of the Zionist program. Discussi about what Herzl would have done, what cou he would have commanded, could not be aught fruitless; but after the Balfour Declaration it occup a prominent position in the Zionist world no theless.

This dispute was not without its echo in Cent Europe; on the whole, however, the practical pol of Dr. Weizmann has always met with sympat and support here. The idea of winning over all Jewry for the upbuilding of Palestine found its fi expression in the program for a Jewish Congr to be held in Austria and Germany—to be mode after the American Jewish Congress, and to se as a stepping-stone to a World Congress of the Je Before long, however, it became manifest t

ırious external and internal causes were operating ;ainst the creation of such a Congress.

Accordingly all energies were concentrated upon ıining the co-operation of non-Zionist circles, 'hich were gradually becoming convinced of the :ality of Palestine, although they did not enter the ionist movement itself. The channel through 'hich their aid could be given was opened by the ondon Conference of 1920, which proclaimed the .eren Hayesod as a neutral, non-political fund for ıe economic rehabilitation of the country. Now a umber of prominent Jews who had formerly kept loof from such matters joined in the work for alestine, and the German Keren Hayesod was rganized under the leadership of Oskar Wassermann, ıe head of the *Deutsche Bank*. During the next :w years all Zionist efforts were directed toward vo goals: The raising of money and the further- ıce of the Chalutz movement. Men and money ɔr Palestine—this was the Zionist battle-cry of ıat period.

That this impetuous rush forward should be fol- ›wed by a reaction was only to be expected. When, ter the Fourth *Aliyah*, immigration was suspended ıd a number of our Chalutzim returned to Germany, became clear that Zionist activity could not be ›ncentrated exclusively upon the practical work of building Palestine. As the bearer of the Jewish naissance movement Zionism possessed a deeper gnificance and was faced with larger tasks. The :w generation could be won only by Zionist ideol- ;y, and not merely by practical work in Palestine. nother reason for the demand that Zionism be vived as a movement was that without it the work the Funds could not be successful in the long run.

THE fundamental principles which guided Zionist policy in Germany throughout this period had :en formulated by Kurt Blumenfeld in 1917, after ıe Balfour Declaration. After this political victory Zionism—he said—we must unite with other wish groups for our practical work, though we ay not enter into any ideological compromise. 'e should meet only for the performance of concrete sks in Palestine; our opposition to the assimila- onist philosophy would continue, and we should cognize the privilege of our allies to retain their ›int of view.

The practical results of this policy proved it sound. 'hile non-Zionists co-operated in the Keren Hayesod ionist propaganda was continued in Germany ıd the Zionist Federation was maintained. One the important circumstances which made this ›ssible is the fact that here—as in very few other ›untries—the various Zionist factions did not form parate organizations of their own, but were united a single association which included all shades of ›inion. Despite many differentiations, therefore, :rman Zionism retained its essential unity. Of urse we have had our disagreements also, as well as some small groups of "radical" and "revisionist" Zionists; but these tendencies have never gained a real foothold in Germany.

Another field in which Zionist endeavors have been eminently successful is that of the *Gegenwartsarbeit*, of the work among the German Jews themselves. Zionists have achieved prominence and leadership in the Jewish communities everywhere, and have managed more and more to win over these congregations—formerly strongholds of assimilation—to work for Palestine.

IN Austria the Zionist Organization has developed less compactly than in Germany. At the close of the World War it had shrunk from one of the largest organizations to a body of relatively insignificant size. Austria herself had become a small state, the other parts of the old monarchy gaining their independence. The course of Zionism in Czechoslovakia has been similar to that of the movement in Germany, except that a more important rôle was played in the internal politics of the first-named country. The Jewish national minority has been recognized in Czechoslovakia, and about half the Jews of the land have declared themselves as members of the group. Due to an unfavorable distribution of electoral districts the Zionists have won no seats in the Parliament; but the number of votes they have received is impressive. The Czechoslovakian Chalutz movement has sent many people to Palestine; indeed, we have two essentially Czechoslovakian *kvutzoth* in the Emek to-day. In Austria Zionist participation in politics achieved only a temporary success, through the election of Stricker to the Austrian Parliament; a serious obstacle to the development of the Zionist Organization there is presented by exceedingly violent internal conflicts. The largest Jewish districts of Austria—Galicia, Bukovina, etc.—have been given over to the new East European states, to Poland, Rumania and others. And in Hungary the extreme anti-Semitism of the reactionary dictatorship has dealt Zionism a blow from which it will not recover for many years.

Indeed, the upheavals following the War have crowded Central Europe out of its original position of Zionist leadership. External political conditions have prevented the defeated countries from playing any considerable rôle. The entry into Zionist life of lands with large Jewish populations—such as Poland and the United States—has relegated numerically inferior Germany and Austria to the background. Notwithstanding this, however, German Zionism in particular has gained a high position in the Zionist world even after the War.

The history of Central European Zionism since Herzl's death shows us the fruit borne by the seedlings he planted. Much has developed otherwise than he had planned. But it was he who educated modern Jewry to political activity and a sense of its own responsibility.

Herzl's Influence in France

The Growth of the Zionist Idea and Its Effect on Judaism

By ANDRÉ SPIRE

In Paris, Herzl wrote "The Jewish State." But it took many slow years for his views to penetrate French Jewish life. This article by André Spire is practically a review of twenty-five years of Jewish life in France since the death of Herzl. A member of an old Jewish family, Spire has been a Zionist from the moment that the Dreyfus affair unchained all the obscurantist elements in the Third Republic against Jewish life. He accompanied Dr. Weizmann to Palestine to assist in negotiations with the French authorities in tracing the boundaries between the Libanese Republic and Palestine. Spire is one of the most distinguished of contemporary French poets.

AS I never knew Herzl personally, I must leave the privilege of recounting souvenirs and reminiscences to those who shared his struggles with him and who participated in his defeats and triumphs. When did I first become acquainted with his name? When did his ceaseless striving first become general knowledge, surpassing the bounds of that narrow circle (in which Rabbi Zadoc Kahn and Baron Edmond Rothschild were the chief personages) of those whom he tried to win for his projects at the time of the propaganda journey he made to Paris in November, 1895? When did French Jewry—that is to say those who, like I, descend from old Jewish families for a long time resident in France, or who at least were born of parents who did not have a personal experience of the ghetto, its sufferings, its joys and customs and habits, at once sordid and sublime—learn of the existence of that intrepid figure who had had the audacity to propose a solution of the tragic Jewish question by the creation of a new state, a Jewish state? Did I read the articles, did any of my friends read the articles that Parisian journals devoted to the first Zionist Congress—*Le Journal*, *l'Echo de Paris*, and later *Le Journal des Debats* and *Le Temps*? I remember little of it. If we read them there is little doubt that Herzl's political Zionism appeared to us as a fallacious chimera, a Utopia. This much is certain of all French Jewry: only Bernard Lazare gave, for a time at least, his adherence to Zionism. He also attended the First Congress. Bernard Lazare was the only one among us who realized that it is far less the racial tie than the national one which binds world Jewry together. This he affirmed in his grandio[se] work, *L'Antisemitisme*, which appeared in 1894. H[e] further developed his theories at public lectures [in] Paris. French Jewry, however, did not at on[ce] grasp the importance of Lazare's words. We Frenc[h] Jews were right in the midst of the Dreyfus affair—that is to say, we were forced by circumstances [to] fight an incessant and bitter battle to obtain th[e] revision of a judgment of a military tribunal th[at] had without proofs of guilt sent a Jewish officer [to] the hell of Devil's Island. Do not peasants who s[ee] their farm-house on fire seize everything that com[es] to hand to combat the flames—water-pails, litt[le] hand-pumps—without stopping to ask themselv[es] whether it would not be preferable that some da[y] their municipality purchase a splendid mode[rn] extinguisher which will conquer the most inten[se] conflagration in a few moments?

Those who had surreptitiously been laying pla[ns] for the condemnation of a Jewish officer, no matt[er] what his name and station, to prove to the who[le] of France that the Jews were unworthy of the cou[n]try, unworthy of participation in public affairs—tho[se] who wished to arrest the march of French civiliz[a]tion, which had been first among the nations [to] grant the Jews civic and political rights—were t[he] clericals, the royalists, the reactionaries of eve[ry] shade, but most of all t[he] nationalists. How could [we] French Jews at that mome[nt] come to have faith in a sort [of] homeopathic cure which pr[o]posed to eliminate the curse [of] nationalism of which we h[ad] suffered by the creation of [a] new nationalism? Nationalis[m] was our sworn enemy; all n[a]tionalisms had to be destroye[d]. That is why we allied ourselv[es] with all the parties of the Left[—] liberals, radicals, Socialists—[to] defend the legality of indivi[d]ual rights for all citizens r[e]gardless of ethnic origins or r[e]ligious convictions. Furth[er]more we hoped that the exa[m]ple given by a victorious Fren[ch] liberalism would react su[ffi]ciently upon other Europe[an] nations—Germany, Austri[a], Russia and other countri[es] where we experienced ostraci[sm]



ANDRÉ SPIRE

persecution—to make them adopt a more ral attitude, not only in theory but in actuality, *à-vis* of their Jewish populations.

las, once more victory changed into defeat. n if Dreyfus saw his process revised and his honor abilitated, nationalism was never more powerful the ruling classes in France than in the years that owed. From 1902 on, after those elections which e a majority to the defenders of Dreyfus, life ame more and more intolerable for the Jews of nce, who had so naïvely believed in the triumph individual liberty. The masters of the day were the generous souls, the Europeans like Jaurès, the Cæsarian Barrès, the royalists Maurras and udet. The Bergsonian philosophical bias was the se that led many Jews to seek refuge in the Catholic vement, which was first liberal, but soon became ultramontane as ever. Classic French culture, ich was rationalist in essence and favorable to the ancipation of classes and races, was in grave danger. acked from all sides, by enemies who would be disarmed either by assurances of good will by evidence of Jewish patriotism and sacrifices, the e of French Jewry then asked the question whether vould not be more dignified for our Jewish youth become Jews once more, proud of the fact, instead Frenchmen whose intentions were questioned.

nd by this question of becoming conscious Jews s not meant collaboration in Jewish charitable eavors in the land of residence, or defending im-rtal Biblical and prophetical values of a divine ty, of justice, goodness, defense of the weak inst powerful oppressors—in short, it was not ely a humanitarian social process that was isaged. But it meant this: for French Jews to resolutely towards the solution of the Jewish blem as proposed by Theodor Herzl; the regroup- of the Jews on a territory where they would form majority of the population, where they could a Jewish life not only tolerated but free and ependent, and the territory declared autonomous international right.

NOT only their disappointments prepared the French Jewish élite for a rapprochement with the al of Theodor Herzl. The sufferings of Eastern opean Jewry ought also to be taken into account. massacres of Kishineff in 1903 provoked a trem-ng indignation in Dreyfusard milieus. Then owed, with the defeat of the first Russian revolu-n, the mass-killings of Kiev, Kishineff once in, Ekaterinoslav and Byalistok, violations and age organized by the police and the Czarist anization of the Black Hundred.

wo revues in France, *Les Cahiers de la Quinzaine* *Pages Libres*, which counted several Jews among ir collaborators, began to devote attention to the ish question. Elie Eberlin, Henri Dagan, Bernard are examined the case of Zionism. Eberlin espe-ly created unusual interest in France when he proved how deeply Zionist hopes were penetrating into East European life. The center of Zionist activity in East Europe at that time was the city of Berditchev. The town assumed almost legendary aspects. It had a population of sixty thousand. Fifty-five thousand of these were Jews. In French Jewish circles the world was reduced to a formula of three words: Europa-Berditchev-Palestina. Eberlin visited the place and French Jewry was astonished to hear from him of the ardor, of the reawakened Jewish life under the influence of the new Zionism. "In East Europe," he wrote, "a letter of introduction alone by a Zionist of note has a rallying power which opens all doors to you. Perhaps not every word of the letter is understood, but names like Herzl, Alexander Marmorek or Zadoc Kahn are recognized; and the people at once *vous font l'honneur de leur misère.*" In Odessa Eberlin found conditions such that it was impossible not to think of a homeland where human beings could be free and regain their self-respect. The Jews lived in abject misery, in conditions of hopelessness and even despair.

Yet French Jewry, moved to pity and commiseration, learned with surprise that a new thought was making the Jews bear up under their trials. A mystical and social faith was warming their hearts. The portrait of Doctor Herzl was seen everywhere. One significant word was charged as with a wondrous magic. That word was Zionism. The East European Jews felt themselves less alone through it. The smallest village boasted a Zionist nucleus. It was the rallying center of the national spirit. The word "Zion" on the letter-heads of the Organization had become a new emblem, charged with a real, living significance. Cold reason could not fathom the regenerating effect that went out from the new hope that had been born.

Slowly the French public, Jewish and non-Jewish, began to learn that there was such a thing as Zionism. Certain eminent French writers, among them the young Gentile writer and jurist Marcel Rouffie, began to publish commentaries and analyses of the Jewish national movement.

But even then French Jewry was not altogether swayed by Zionism. The purifying, regenerating influence of Herzl's ideal appealed to us, but whatever there was mystical in Zionism—the attraction to Palestine, to the Promised Land—held no appeal to us.

How few there were amongst us who still believed in the religious hopes of Judaism, or in the regenerating strength of a Jewish land, the land of our ancestors! When by chance some of us were present in a family that had remained loyal to the ancient traditions, and heard the solemn wish uttered at Passover: "Next Year in Jerusalem!" we were ready to smile skeptically with a shrugging of shoulders. We could not easily understand the refusal of the Russian Zionists to examine the Uganda colonization project which was offered by England, nor was the

intransigence of the political Zionists in regard to the Choveve Zion or the philanthropy of Baron Rothschild clear to us. As a matter of fact most of us did not become Zionists with Herzl, but rather Territorialists, when Zangwill founded the Jewish Territorial Organization after the death of Herzl. A territory anywhere on earth seemed good enough to us at that time.

This did not prevent us from sympathizing wholeheartedly with the foreign Jews who came to France, who for the most part were political Zionists, and who developed a puissant action after 1901 in a Zionist Federation of Paris under the leadership of Dr. Marmorek, David Jacobson and Max Nordau. This group even had its own periodical, *The Zionist Echo*, founded in 1899 by Zionist students and directed from 1912 till 1918 by Baruch Hagani, who was himself one of the most fervent disciples of Herzl and the author of a remarkable volume, *Political Zionism and its Founder*.

We remained territorialists because we considered it unlikely that Turkey would ever give Palestine to the Jews. The mediocre success of a colonization that might almost be called clandestine, and certainly philanthropic and lacking national cohesion and character, did not serve to make us change our opinions. We repeated over and over again that we would become Zionists only then when there would be a definite hope that Palestine would some day be freely thrown open to the Jewish people with guarantees of security fixed by international right.

In this way the grain sown by Herzl bore fruit and became a tree. But the tree was gnarled and twisted, like those wind-bent pines that grow on the rocky shores of the Mediterranean. Let us not forget that only in geometry the straight line covers the shortest distance from one point to another. In nature there are no straight lines. The roads that lead to a living goal are nearly always interspersed with detours.

ZANGWILL'S criticism of Herzl and of the evolution of Zionism since the Sixth Congress in 1903 and chiefly after the Seventh Congress in 1905 helped enormously to prepare French public opinion for the project of Herzl: the hope of a solution of the Jewish question. The term "national liberty" sounded well in French ears. France had assisted the United States in its War of Independence. France had stood by Greece in her struggle for liberation. She had helped Bulgaria, Serbia, Rumania. Wherever a small people had stood for its rights, there France had come to its succor. Why, so spoke French public opinion, not help the oldest nation, so long oppressed and so unhappy—a nation that has, moreover, imprinted the stamp of its civilization indelibly on French culture? However, French public opinion considered Palestine the most dangerous of all possible territories for a national Jewish rehabilitation. A Jewish Palestine might conflict with French national interests in the Near East. France was the traditional protectress of the Christians of the Leva[nt]. Her Near Eastern policy had its *point d'appui* [in] the French Catholic missions. These power[ful] missions were naturally hostile to anything th[at] could give Israel back its grandeur. I am writi[ng] frankly of these matters now. Differences ha[ve] been forgotten. Jewry is now well-nigh unit[ed]. The goal, Herzl's vision, is brought immeasurabl[y] nearer. But there were certain matters that ve[xed] us French Jews not a little. There was the meeti[ng] of Herzl with Wilhelm II at Constantinople a[nd] later in Jerusalem. The Imperial couple were recei[ved] in David's city with an arch of triumph, on whi[ch] was written in Hebrew and in German this phra[se] "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of t[he] Eternal One."

Assimilationist Jews and several eminent no[n-]Jewish publicists seized upon these incidents [as] indications of the Germanic character of Zionis[m]. The attempt of German Jews to impose their la[n]guage as the language of instruction at the Hig[h] Technical School at Haifa seemed to give substa[nce] to these attacks. Let us not forget that this occur[red] in the years between the War of 1870 and the War [of] 1914, a period during which French nationalism a[nd] all its adherent influences brooded over revenge [for] the humiliation of Alsace Lorraine.

On the other hand there was the idea of a Jew[ish] autonomy conceived by Zangwill, an English Je[w]. While Zangwill's idea was also national in sco[pe], it certainly had no Germanic entanglements [in] appearance. The Near Eastern question seem[ed] insoluble at the time. But Zangwill's scheme had t[he] earmarks of Anglo-Saxon practicability.

A broad wave of sympathy for Zangwill sw[ept] through France at that time, in non-Jewish circ[les] as well as in Jewish milieus. His propaganda speec[hes] in behalf of Zionism and thereafter for Itoism w[ere] widely printed. Literary France held the Ang[lo-]Jewish novelist in high esteem. His political id[eas] were listened to with approbation. French Jew[ry] was overjoyed at this phenomenon. For it mea[nt] that all Jewish things were being looked upon w[ith] more benevolence. A new force, new life cr[ept] into French Jewish life. Assimilationist Jews, w[ho] held to the notion that there is no difference in te[m]perament between a French Jew and a Frenchm[an] began to hold the new type of Jew in esteem. The id[ea] of proudly and bravely facing the Jewish question a[nd] attempting its solution without false front, witho[ut] hypocritical adjustments or erroneous interpretatio[ns] was for the first time courteously approached a[nd] discussed by assimilationist Jews and the gene[ral] French public. The result was that the French peo[ple] had been largely won over to the necessity of a [na]tional rehabilitation for the Jewish people when [the] War broke out.

It is not my intention to trace the fluctuations of [the] Zionist evolution during the war years. Suffice [it] to say that the negotiations undertaken by

onist leaders with the French authorities were ıgularly facilitated by the events that I have iefly traced here. Thanks to the new attitude of e élite of French Jewry, the French Foreign Office d the Government through its chiefs, Messrs. chon and Cambon, Millerand and Poincare, emenceau and Tardieu found a support to counterlance the nefarious influence of assimilationist wish groups, who until the issuance of the Balfour eclaration and long thereafter attempted to oppose e French Government's sympathetic attitude toward wish revindications and aspirations in Palestine.

With the Balfour Declaration dawned the hope that lestine would be freed from the Turkish yoke and me the realization that the experiment of Jewish tional autonomy was to be carried out on the cestral Hebraic soil. For the Itoists to have posed a realizable plan of action in Palestine would ve meant treason to the Jewish people, as Zangll himself admitted at the Thanksgiving Meeting ld in London on December 1, 1917.

To-day Itoists and Zionists are not only reconed in France, but they are united in a Zionist deration which includes Jews whose families ve been for ages on French soil and newly arrived migrants from East Europe. Many Jews who merly combated Zionism now are its staunchest pporters. The "grand" Jews who looked with sdain upon Herzl's ideal have become his admirers d the well-wishers and supporters of the modern ganization that came about under his inspiration. e entire French Jewish press is extremely sympaetic toward Zionism.

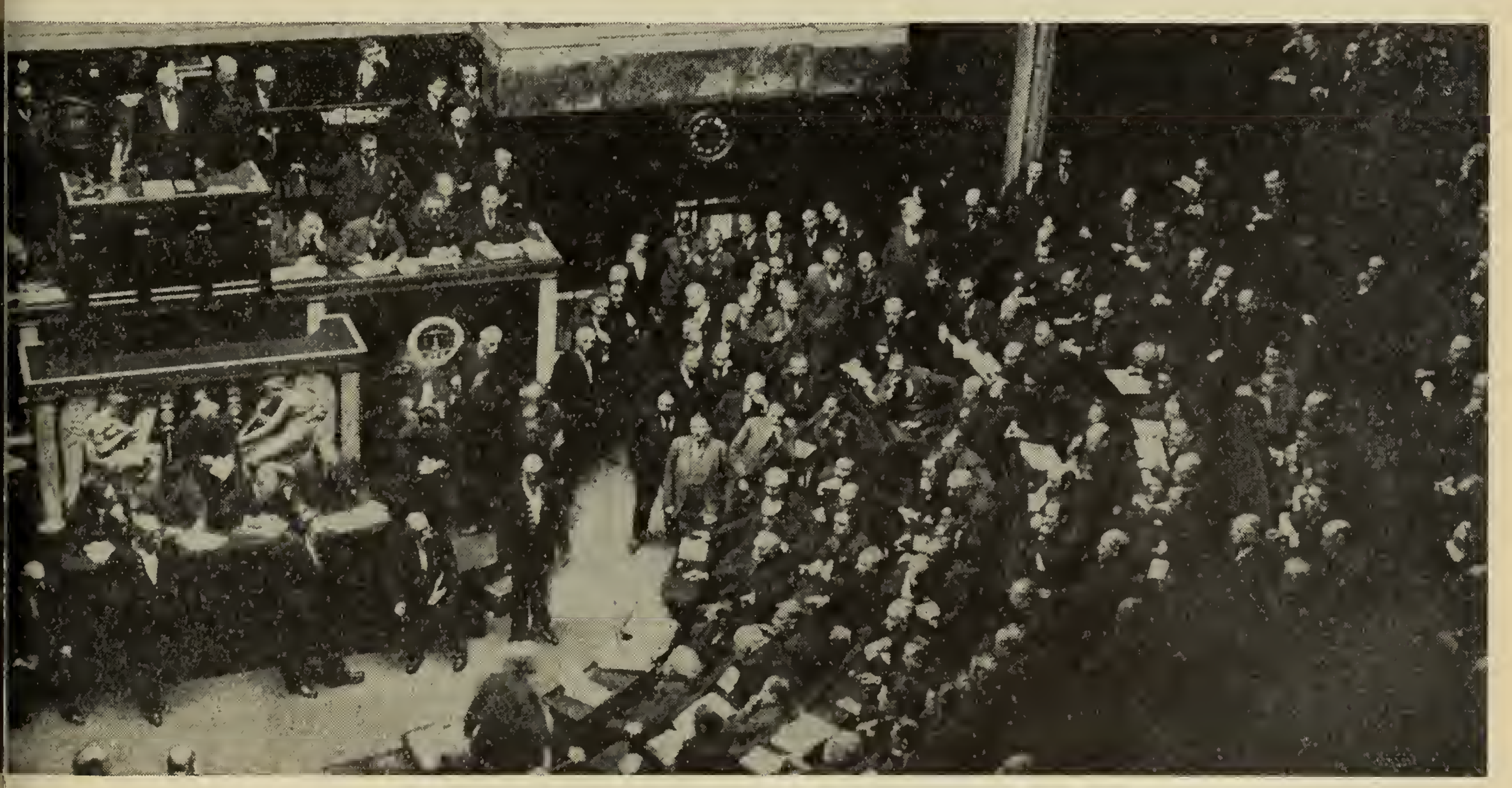
An entire new Jewish literature has been born ese late years under the inspiration and influence of Zionism. Jewish life in France is visibly revived. I firmly believe we are only at the beginning of a new era full of promise—the direct outflow of Zionism.

So the Utopia, the chimera that Herzl flung into the face of the world thirty-four years ago, and of which he himself full well knew that the play of history would modify it and round off the corners, has proved itself of inestimable richness and blessing in power and realization. It has in my days profoundly changed the direction of Jewish life all over the world. While the unworthy schemes of a timid Judaism have withered in the hands of egoists and philanthropes, Zionism has given impulse to the gestation of a regeneration of world-Israel.

Once more the prophet and the visionary has conquered over the *soi-disant* wisdom of the timorous souls and the politicians. What has proved fecund is not the doubt and hesitation and prudence of those whom Herzl called "the practical men of the mail-coach," but self-confidence, hope in the future, self-reliance.

"Do you know," Herzl wrote once to a philanthropist who had listened to his magnificent projects with an ill-concealed irony—"do you know how the German Empire was founded? With dreams, and *Lieder*, with chimeras and a black-gold-red ribbon. In a short time Bismarck had only to shake the tree that the ideologists had planted."

Herzl's *The Jewish State* has been a banner to Jewry. Some of us it has led to peace and tranquility in the Promised Land. Others it has taught to lift their heads and to cease trembling. All of us in the Diaspora it has given back our national pride and our human dignity.



The French Chamber of Deputies, where Herzl Sat as a Political Correspondent for the "Neue Freie Presse"

Zionist Policy

From the Days of Theodor Herzl to the Present Time

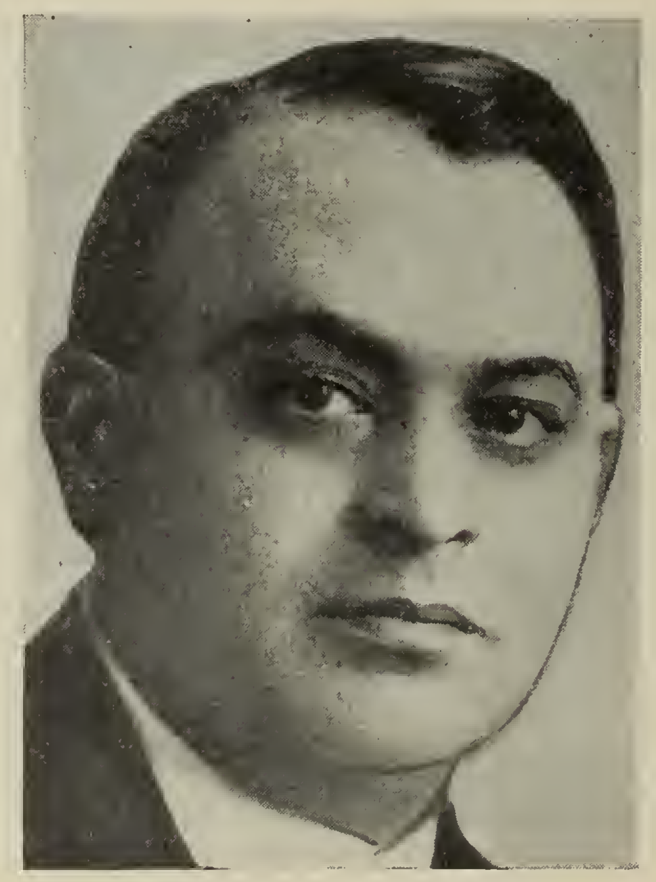
By PROF. SELIG BRODETSKY

Describing the evolution of Zionist thought since Herzl's time, the author of this article points out that neither a rejection of Herzl's principles nor a wholesale acceptance of them would meet the wishes of Herzl himself. Prof. Brodetsky of Manchester University is a member of the World Zionist Executive.

IT was in 1896 that Theodor Herzl published his *Judenstaat*. Then a young man of almost thirty-six, he was profoundly shaken by the Dreyfus case and resolved to find a radical solution to the Jewish problem. Ignorant of all that had been written and spoken before him on this matter most vital to Jewry, and a complete stranger to Jewish life, he launched his scheme for the settling of the Jews in a Jewish land, acknowledged and safeguarded by the will and conscience of humanity. After eight years, at the age of forty-four, Herzl died. Heartbroken and disillusioned, he clung with gigantic moral fervor to the fundamental idea which had determined his life's work. He left this work undone; and for years the organization he had created wandered in intellectual wildernesses. But these eight years of the working of Herzl's personality on Jewry transformed it to its depths. They marked a new era in Jewish history.

Twenty-five years have passed since Herzl's death brought mourning to Israel. But the transformation worked in Jewry by his advent has matured. The will and conscience of humanity have acknowledged, and promised to safeguard, the Jewish National Home. Jewry itself is taking up, in ever widening circles, the joyous task of national reconstruction in Palestine. And inevitably our thoughts go back to the miraculous apparition which passed by us as in a flash, yet changed our thoughts and our lives almost beyond recognition.

What was it that wrought this change? Much is attributed to Herzl's personality. I am not among those who were privileged to come in contact with Herzl—at his death I was still a young schoolboy; but all I heard then and all I have learned since concerning Theodor Herzl makes it clear to me that his personality must indeed have been unique. Yet it is not possible th this personal factor alone could have produced su prodigious effects. Jews and Jewesses who we removed thousands of miles from the influence Herzl's personal power and charm were as enthu astic followers of his leadership as those who serv as his armor-bearers. It has been stated that Herz influence was so great because he came upon t scene of Jewish national revival so unexpectedl and from so unforeseen a quarter of Jewish life—frc the hotbed of assimilation and negation of Jewis ness. Yet it is not possible that this fact could ha worked the miracle of Herzl's influence on Jewr Other Jews have come back to their people in equal dramatic manner without producing more than ripple in the stream of Jewish life. Herzl was a bo leader of men; he possessed boundless energy, irresis ble determination and infinite nobility of charact But these virtues do not explain the unprecedent impulse he gave to Jewish national life.



PROF. SELIG BRODETSKY

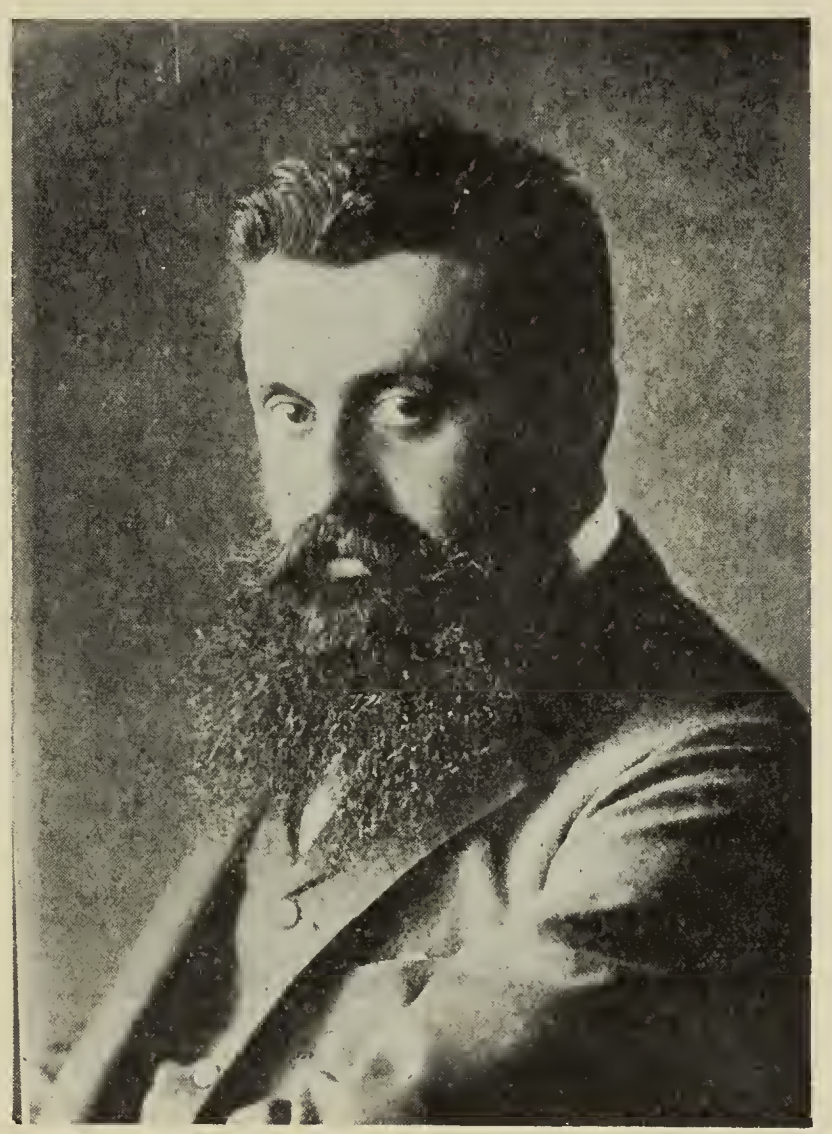
Theodor Herzl attained his place in the Jewi calendar without an effort, and almost without struggle, because he brought into the apparen aimless and inarticulate strivings of a return Eretz Israel the fundamental idea which convert these strivings into a great national movement. I centuries Jews had mourned their destroyed natio hood, had gazed yearnin toward the land of their h toric past and their promi future. Convulsive motic were made now and aga either in despair at the bitt ness of oppression or in ir tional exaltation at the appe ance of a self-styled delive to organize a return to Zi But only disillusionment a redoubled oppression resul from these convulsions. In more settled conditions of Turkish rule over Palest Jews began to trickle back the land of their fathers; tl saw mystic visions in Sa and washed the Wailing W with their tears. But no J ish life grew up in the Lanc Israel. A Jew from Palest was taken, *ipso facto*, for a b gar. Old Jews went there die on the holy soil of E

srael; Jewish babes born in Palestine seemed all their ives to be looking toward the grave as the consum- nation of their existence.

THEN came the change of fifty years ago. Palestin- ian Jews were to become self-respecting workers on the soil of their Holy Land. Mikveh Israel was ounded to teach them the skill they had lost for enturies. Petach Tikvah, Rishon le Zion, Zichron acob and Rosh Pinah were founded as colonies of Jewish ioneers in agriculture. The first *Aliyah* of Chalutzim— nainly Jewish students from Russia—went to Pales- ine with the slogan *Beth Jacob lechu venelechah*, and ained immortality as the Bilu. The *Nadiv*, Baron Edmond Rothschild of Paris, began his colonizing ctivities in Palestine. Leo Pinsker published his *Auto-Emancipation*—not o mention *Rome and Jeru- alem*, written by Moses Hess a generation before. Yet no magic word had et given to all this activ- ty, to all this idealism hat significance which vas immediately attached o the activity and ideal- sm of Herzl.

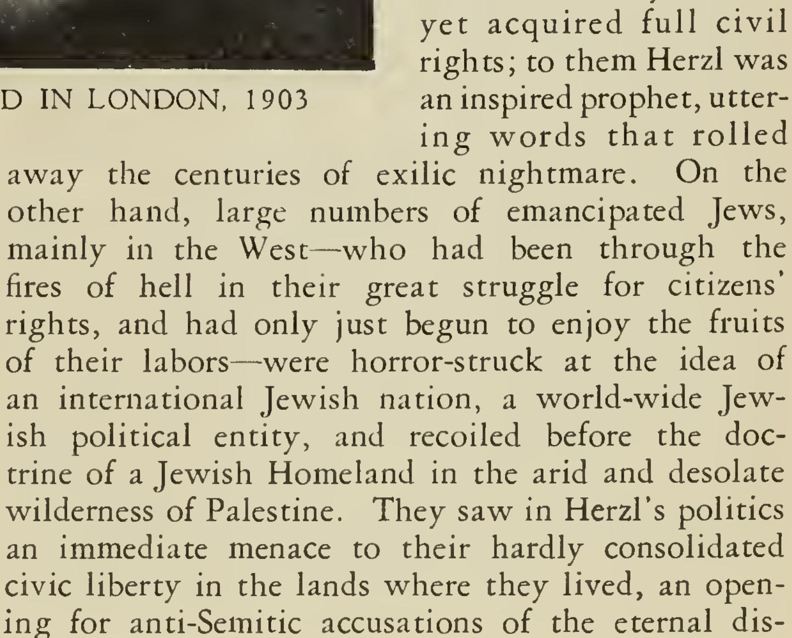
As the beaten child runs o its mother, so the tricken sons of Israel onged for and rushed to heir motherland. A ound instinct told them hat only Eretz Israel ould heal the wounds of *Am Israel*, that only the Holy Tongue should be eard in the groves of the Holy Land. Vague mur- nurings were heard of elf-reliance, of Jewry earning to live by native ight in some land of its wn. Yet there was little n all these doings to dis- inguish them from the migration of old Jews and ewesses to Palestine in order to have the privilege f dying on, and being buried in, the sacred land of heir fathers; there was little distinction between the Baron's work in Palestine and the equally noble harity of Sir Moses Montefiore, to whom the Jews f Palestine owed so much. It was Herzl who saw nd announced clearly the new principle which was o set Jewry on the high road to real emancipation, n the high road to nationhood in its reestablished National Home.

This new principle was political Zionism. Hitherto ndividual Jews had gone to Palestine; societies of Jews had gone to Palestine; individual Jews had interceded for Jewish rights and Jewish freedom; societies of Jews had intervened when persecution overtook Jewry in lands whose governments were amenable to influence by Jewish leaders from the West. Herzl came straight to the main issue: All this influence-mongering, this *shtadlanuth* cannot serve the real interests of Jewry; the Jewish people must emerge as a whole, must assert its political claims to fundamental human rights; Jewish endeavors must become national in their scope.



HERZL, PHOTOGRAPHED IN LONDON, 1903

Political Zionism and Jewish nationalism were widely misunderstood by both their adherents and their opponents. On the one hand large numbers of naïve Jews, not all of them Eastern, saw in the proposed Jewish State an ingathering of all the exiles "from the four corners of the earth." Jews from all lands were to be transferred, in a body, into a new land, where they would assume the sovereignty which the word "state" connotes. Jews all the world over were thus to be looked upon as really a nation in exile; each Jew was merely a sojourner in the land of his adoption, a "lodger," as one British Member of Parliament put it, till he could return to the Homeland, and become a real citizen in his own country. The idea of the Jewish State sent a thrill of joy, a sensation of rebirth through the Jewish masses, especially in the lands where they had not yet acquired full civil rights; to them Herzl was an inspired prophet, uttering words that rolled away the centuries of exilic nightmare. On the other hand, large numbers of emancipated Jews, mainly in the West—who had been through the fires of hell in their great struggle for citizens' rights, and had only just begun to enjoy the fruits of their labors—were horror-struck at the idea of an international Jewish nation, a world-wide Jewish political entity, and recoiled before the doctrine of a Jewish Homeland in the arid and desolate wilderness of Palestine. They saw in Herzl's politics an immediate menace to their hardly consolidated civic liberty in the lands where they lived, an opening for anti-Semitic accusations of the eternal dis-



loyalty of the Jew to the land of his adoption.

Whenever we look back upon the early forms of some mechanism we are immediately struck with their bizarre appearance. Who would now venture to trust himself to the primitive hulks that served our forefathers as ships? How many happy owners of modern motor-cars would venture abroad in the crazy-looking machines of a generation ago? Who would compare the modern ocean-crossing aeroplane with the monstrosities in which the pioneers of aviation braved the unknown currents of the air? Yet the Atlantic liners, the luxurious limousines and the graceful aircraft of to-day are the lineal descendants of the curiosities we now consign to the museums; and only sheer ignorance of fundamentals can cause any deep-going differentiation between these primitive forms and their highly developed modern successors.

ANALOGOUSLY, one is tempted to see in the crude nationalism, the elementary political Zionism of thirty years ago something really different from the Mandatory system and the Jewish National Home of to-day. Some still shudder at the Herzlian scheme, denounce the Jewish State as an antediluvian monstrosity; others still think in terms of the primitive ideas of inceptive political Zionism, and denounce the Zionism of to-day as an emasculated changeling. "Away from Herzl!" say the former; "back to Herzl!" exclaim the latter. Both are wrong. Herzl's spirit has led us until now, and will continue to lead us in the days to come.

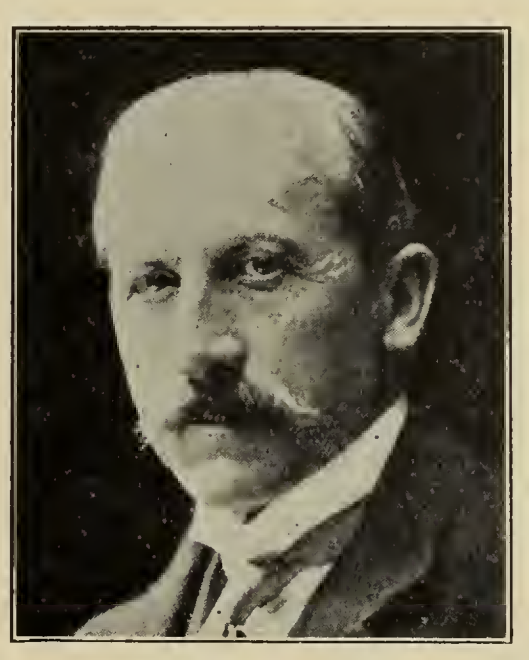
We do not desire to escape from Herzl; we do not need to return to Herzl. Political Zionism and Jewish nationalism have had thirty-three years in which to evolve, in which to adapt themselves more and more to the facts of life, to the political and economic factors that shape Jewish conditions, and to the ever-changing political and economic situation of humanity. He were a fool who would suggest that the post-War Middle East is comparable to the pre-War Turkish Empire, and that we should assume the ideas and methods which seemed suitable thirty years ago to be applicable without modification to-day. Even before the War we saw important modifications in the progressive evolution of political Zionism. First came the conception of some conveniently empty territory which the conscience and consent of humanity would assign to world Jewry as the seat of its renewed national life, and to which a powerful "Jewish Company" would transport Jews and their possessions from all ends of the earth. At the first contact with reality this idea became that of a return to Palestine, based upon a charter from the Sultan of Turkey, and associated with cultural and spiritual factors without which a Jewish national life was meaningless in the eyes of most Zionists. After a period of intensive political efforts in Constantinople, and toward Constantinople *via* the capitals of Europe, there came the shock of the Young Turk revolution. It seemed at first that political Zionism was doomed, for on no account would the Young Turks hear of a Zionism that would tend in any way to detach Palestine from the Turkish Empire. Zionism faced the situation by a frank declaration that the ideal of the movement did not involve anything but Jewish national life within the Turkish Empire.

SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE
"To whom the Jews of Palestine owed so much"

Then came the War. The unification of world Jewry achieved by the Zionist Organization seemed to have come to an end. Zionism was prohibited and Zionists were persecuted in Turkey. Nervous humanity and still more nervous Jewry saw in Jewish nationalism a dangerous competitor of the patriotism which was supposed to occupy the whole of one's mind. But the genius of Weizmann again demonstrated the fundamental fact that Zionism as the aim and aspiration of Jewry is something which cannot be destroyed by any shock or affected by any temporary or permanent modification in world politics. This, indeed, is the firm belief of every true Zionist—that we shall achieve our aims in the face of any conceivable difficulties, that nothing will ever turn us aside from the road leading to our goal.

A NEW world emerged from the War, with new boundaries for the states that survived the cataclysm, with new problems, new dangers and new

conceptions of the rôle of nationality in human life. On the surface of the seething ocean of confusion which humanity had to face, one idea swam safely and triumphantly—the idea of a Jewish national return to Palestine. Turkish domination over Palestine had disappeared. A League of Nations had been built up to deal with the world as reconstructed by the peace treaties and their aftermath. Great Britain had become the ruler of Palestine. And Jewry found that the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine was laid down as a principle in the international documents that were to govern the world, that the Jewish National Home in Palestine was the basis of the very agreement upon which British rule in Palestine rested, that the Zionist Organization was accorded the unique privilege of advising and co-operating with the British rulers of Palestine in the upbuilding of the Jewish National Homeland.



LORD MILNER
One of Britain's Earliest Friends of Zionism, Who Helped to Draft the Balfour Declaration

This is Herzl's political Zionism. Great Britian instead of Turkey, the Mandate instead of the Charter—will any one assert that there is any disadvantage in these modifications? The representatives of the Jewish people enjoy an acknowledged status with regard to Palestine; not only Palestine Jewry is concerned in this creation of the Jewish National Home, but all the Jews of the world are acknowledged shareholders in this venture. Not English Jews as Englishmen, nor American Jews as Americans, nor German Jews as Germans are interested in Palestine; English Jews as Jews, American Jews as Jews, German Jews as Jews join in a common task as a united political and economic force. This is the essence of political Zionism: Jews are united internationally in a legally recognized political body, the Jewish Agency, based upon an international recognition of the historic connection of the Jewish People with Palestine, and for the purpose of reestablishing a politicallv and culturally autonomous Jewish national life in Palestine.

INERTIA is as innate in human as in mechanical nature. Twenty years ago Zionists were divided into two warring camps. The political Zionists, on the one hand, stressed the importance of securing the political foundations of Jewish Palestine before undertaking practical colonization work there—in order, indeed, to make such work possible. The practical Zionists, again, emphasized the value of colonization achievement in Palestine even though the political position be still unsatisfactory, and asserted that the results of practical colonization and of the establishment of actual self-determining Jewish communities in Palestine would greatly facilitate the securing of suitable political conditions for the realization of the aims of the movement. Some of us are still inclined to think in terms of this outworn controversy. Politics are the *sine qua non* to many Zionists, who lay all the stress upon the political factors of the situation, and claim that only political methods will ever make secure what we are building up in Palestine, that only intensive political activity will make progress in Palestine possible at all; who discuss with fervor the future political complexion of the country, and wish to lay down in advance such ultimate political conditions as will ensure the aims we all have at heart. Others see in politics a necessary or perhaps even unnecessary evil; they desire to minimize the importance of political issues, and place the whole of our Palestinian endeavor on the economic and cultural plane; they see little if any value in political negotiations and concern themselves with the progress made in practical work primarily.

I would venture to suggest that the official policy of the Zionist Organization now, and—if I may anticipate—of the enlarged Jewish Agency when it shall finally be constituted, is just what Herzl would have adopted under the circumstances obtaining to-day. The Basle program laid down as the aim of Zionism the building up of a publicly secured, legally recognized home for the Jewish people in Palestine. Some think that economic work on a large scale should begin only after the political aims have been fully achieved. Those of us who recognize that political aims are never attained exactly as contemplated, and that greater powers than ourselves must compromise with realities, will gladly acknowledge that the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate give ample legal recognition and public security to our Jewish homeland. The "Jewish Company"—which we now call the Jewish Agency, representative of all Jews who accept the principle of the Jewish National Home—must now do its work. A judicious blending of the political and national with the economic, of the practical with the spiritual; a clearly formulated program of progressive achievement in Palestine, combined with suitable political activity to aid and guide in the practical work, and to open successively fresh fields of activity and new horizons: This is the Zionism which most Jews desire to-day. This is the Zionism that Herzl adumbrated in his *Judenstaat*, as applied to the post-War conditions in which we live. This will lead to the new conception of Jewish national life of which Theodor Herzl dreamed and for which he worked.

Herzl and Jewish Messianism

Nationalism as a Means to a Greater Goal

By Dr. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

WITH Theodor Herzl the political phase of the tri-millenial Messianic hope of Israel came to an end. At least provisionally. Should the Jewish Homeland develop uninterruptedly from international sanctions to actuality, the political phase will have ended definitely. Only the prophetic phase of Jewish Messianism will then remain—the heroic and eternal phase.

The Jewish Messianic hope was born not in helplessness but in power. It sprang into being when the race awakened to a realization of the unique and amazing career which destiny had carved out for it. It antedated the period of national decline. In the full tide of its national life and in the midst of a vigorous cultural activity was the dogma of prophetic Messianism proclaimed by the spiritual spokesmen of Israel. This dogma was international in character because Jewish nationalism was then a fact, not a problem. A people can be international in outlook only when its own national life is secure. It was missionary in spirit because Israel had reached a point in its spiritual development where it needed a conscious ideal in life, and not, as in later days, a disarming apology for living. It concerned Palestine only as the *pou sto*, from which vantage point Israel could move the world. An eager, mystic and masterful religious imperialism was at the heart of Jewish Messianism at the outset. This is the essence of the *acharith hayamim* visions of Micah and Isaiah. Zion must become the spiritual capital of a regenerated humanity. The peoples of the earth will flow unto it to receive instruction in the highest laws of justice and of world peace. There is superb daring and pride and exultant confidence in this Messianic concept of the race.

The minor key which we are accustomed to associate with the Messianic hope is of another and a later age. It is the product of national calamity. At the close of the eighth century B. C. E. the Kingdom of Israel was destroyed—never to be rebuilt. The Northern provinces of Palestine were colonized by alien peoples. Galilee became the "District of the Gentiles." A century and a half later Judea was conquered and the Temple destroyed. The best elements of the population were deported. The great Diaspora began. Even after the restoration of Judea and the rebuilding of the Temple there remained a wide-spread dispersion which continued increasingly throughout the subsequent centuries. Israel was "spread abroad as the four winds of heaven," through the Persian Empire and the Arabian Peninsula, in Asia Minor, in Egypt and along the shores of the Mediterranean. In Judea there remained a meager, harassed and partially assimilated people, whom prophet and scribe tried to strengthen and reclaim. The nation was in vassalage. National independence was gone—not to be recaptured except for one brief century before the second and greater destruction. Only the indomitable will to live remained, and the hope of full national rehabilitation. Among the choice spirits, the inexpugnable Messianic prophetism of the race continued unabated. The untoward conditions of the times and the threatened dissolution of the nation even lent fuel to the great tradition. Hitherto it was assumed, in a rather vague and undefined way, that Israel would serve as the instrument of mankind's spiritual salvation. At the hands of the great Prophet of the Dispersion, the second Isaiah, and his disciples, this belief became definite and unmistakable. It became, in fact, the new dogma of Jewish nationalism. Prophetic Messianism was now, however, linked up with the hope of national restoration. The political motif was introduced, and thereafter this motif gained ascendancy in Jewish Messianic thought. The first act in the great drama of the world redemption must be the national redemption of Israel.



DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

It was now also realized that the task of reconstituting society after the highest pattern of moral perfection cannot be accomplished without much suffering and sacrifice. Israel, having assumed the crown, must also assume the cross to world leadership. Thus the tragic theme of the "suffering servant of Yahveh" appears. Israel is destined to be stricken

and afflicted. He will bear the chastisement of the world, but by his stripes will the nations of the earth be healed.

Throughout the Persian and Greek periods of Jewish history both the political and prophetic elements were present in the Messianic complex, but the grave accent was on the latter. The voice of the second Isaiah echoes and reechoes through the writings of the post-exilic era, Biblical and Apocryphal. But with the waning of the people's hopes under Roman rule, and, more especially, after the harrowing catastrophes of 70 and 135 C. E., the classic prophetico-Messianic tradition was forced to the background. It was not lost or forgotten. It became simply incongruous. A crushed and broken people which cannot save itself cannot think much about saving the world. A dark obsession took hold of Israel—the thought of its homelessness. Its emotional group life became centered in the impassioned wish to return home.

The political motif took on a new coloring. Despair opened the way for supernaturalism. Israel's redemption can come not by way of self-emancipation, but only through the miraculous intervention of a divinely endowed personal redeemer—a scion of the House of David. The revolutionary ardor passed out of the political ideal. The people became passive in the hands of fate.

BUT though the Galuth cast its shadow over all the ways of the people's life, it never quite darkened that light of which it was said: "and nations shall walk at thy light, and kings at the brightness of thy rising."

When the era of political emancipation began for the Jews of Western Europe prophetic Messianism asserted itself anew in Jewish thought. It was now spoken of as the doctrine of the "mission of Israel." Many of those who championed it attempted to disengage it from the political ideal with which it had been associated ever since the Diaspora began. They regarded the political equality which they had gained as individuals in their respective countries as adequate compensation for the political equality which their people had failed to acquire. They adhered to the doctrine of prophetic Messianism, forgetting or ignoring the fact that it was predicated upon a Jewish national life in Palestine. It was against this national and territorial background that prophecy painted its picture of *acharith hayamim*. In the Diaspora this picture had no background—and no canvass. . . . To attempt to dissociate the prophetic from the political element of Messianism in the Diaspora was to court group extinction.

One is inclined to doubt the charge sometimes made that many of the protagonists of the mission idea in Western Europe were conscious assimilationists. There were more direct ways out of Judaism open to them. Nor is it altogether true to say that they accepted the mission idea simply as an excuse and an apology for remaining Jews. Many of them were very loyal and very learned and very proud Jews. They believed that prophetic Messianism was a sufficient ideal for Jewish life in the Diaspora, capable of sustaining it, without the aid of political autonomy either in Palestine or in the Diaspora. The logic of history has proved them wrong. They are to be credited, however, with having brought forward again from the periphery to the center of Jewish thought the irrepressible prophetic tradition.

EASTERN European Jewry felt the impact of this awakened prophetic Messianism along with other influences which reached it with the Haskalah movement from Western Europe. It did not come to them as a new revelation, but as a new emphasis. Witness Krochmal, whose philosophy of Jewish history is comparable to that of Jehudah Halevi, the chief spokesman of prophetic Messianism in the Middle Ages. But Eastern European Jewry never dissociated the prophetic from the political phase of Messianism. The Jews of Eastern Europe had not yet won their political emancipation. They lived more compactly and in the midst of peoples culturally inferior to them. The sense of group solidarity was accordingly very strong among them. The political Messianic hope was loyally clung to both by the leaders and the masses of the people.

Here and there an attempt was made to expurgate the prophetic element from Messianism. Thus Lilienblum. In all such instances the attempt was in the nature of a counterblast to the antinationalistic "mission" advocates of Western Europe. It was the offspring of controversy and polemics—not of reasoned thought consistent with its own major premises.

POLITICAL Messianism as such received its fullest expression in Theodor Herzl. His Zionism at first was a purely political interest. This was also the case with Hess and Pinsker. He was far removed from Jewish life and unacquainted with the classic traditions of his people. He came to Jewry by way of anti-Semitism, not by way of Judaism. At one of the Zionist Congresses he frankly confessed that he did not know what was even meant by the term "Jewish culture." His maximum program at the outset was the establishment of a legally secured haven of refuge for his persecuted brethren—anywhere, not necessarily in Palestine. His concept of Jewish nationalism was couched in terms of the nationalist philosophies of nineteenth-century Europe.

Herzl's exclusive political Messianism, so alien to the essential genius of the race, was destined to encounter resistance. Jewry, and especially Eastern European Jewry, preserved an older and nobler nationalist philosophy. It treasured a unique national tradition of twenty-five centuries, which was inseparably bound up with Palestine, with the Hebrew language, with Hebrew culture, with the Torah and with all the imperishable dreams of its seers and prophets.

And resistance soon made itself felt. Its leader was Ahad Ha-am.

Writing soon after the Zionist Congress in 1897, Ahad Ha-am stated that he was not at all sure that Israel was ready to assume the rôle of a political nation. Furthermore, that even if it were prepared and even if permission were granted to Israel to assume its place as a political entity in the world, he was not at all sure that this would represent the fulfilment of its destiny. Israel, he argues, has a higher destiny to achieve. Two thousand years of heroic suffering and martyrdom cannot find their compensation in the right to play the rôle of a pitifully small state in a world of political intrigue, a pawn in the hands of scheming international diplomats. "The reward must be according to the suffering." An ancient people which has been "a light unto the nations" cannot and should not content itself with the moiety of political autonomy enjoyed by peoples many of whom are culturally and historically insignificant and none of whom suffered as Israel has suffered. It was neither a matter of accident nor of slight moment that prophets arose in Israel who visioned "the end of days" when righteousness would be established in the world. This universal humanitarian ideal has been and must continue always to be an integral part of the ideal of Jewish nationalism. "The salvation of Israel will come to pass through prophets and not through diplomats . . . "

Ahad Ha-am was, of course, a severe critic of the denationalized "mission" ideology in vogue among Western European Jews. He called for a normal, full-blooded, national life for his people in Palestine which should become the seed-bed of a cultural renaissance. Unmistakably, however, Ahad Ha-am's "culture" was suffused with prophetic Messianism.

CULTURAL Zionism could not make much headway in the post-Dreyfus and pogrom eras which were co-terminous with the first years of Herzlian Zionism. Uppermost in the minds of the people at that time was the desperate thought of "escape," not the constructive thought of "return." But in the quieter years which followed cultural Zionism gathered strength. It became the most persuasive argument in Zionist propaganda. It proved far more effective than Herzlian political Zionism in converting the intellectual classes of our people. It responded to the deeper cravings of the Jewish soul.

A perusal of the literature of cultural Zionism covering a period of more than a quarter of a century cannot fail to impress one with the note of prophetic Messianism which is constantly sounded there. These protagonists of cultural Zionism, avowedly, are not thinking of just another secular culture, but of a quite unique and extraordinary culture, which ages ago was touched with the live coal of a prophetic inspiration whose glow has not been quenched in the long and wearying centuries. They are thinking of a crusading culture which will transform the world, a culture of social imperatives which will reach out for "new things, things kept in store, not hitherto known. . . ." It is the same ancestral hunger for *malchuth shamayim*. The new Jewish State must be an expression of the historic social idealism of the race. The visions of the prophets must find in the renascent Jewish commonwealth "a local habitation and a name." Palestine must become the workshop of our people's highest ethical aspirations and mankind's experimental laboratory for social reconstruction.

A recent Christian pilgrim, returning from Palestine, averred that "the bravest social venture in the world to-day" is developing in Palestine. If this is true then the hope of the Messianic Zionists is, in part at least, being vindicated.

The prophetic element in modern Zionism is not the exuberant dream of a few romanticists. It is present in the thought of its most sober and realistic exponents. At the laying of the cornerstone of the Hebrew University Dr. Weizmann revealed the innermost soul of himself and of the movement when he declared:

"Am I too bold if, here to-day in this place among the hills of Ephraim and Judah, I state my conviction that the seers of Israel have not utterly perished, that under the ægis of this university there will be a renaissance of the divine power of prophetic wisdom that once was ours?"

IT is well that the political phase of Jewish Messianism is coming to a close in the upbuilding of the National Homeland. We shall not have to lay so much stress in the future on the importance of nationalism. We shall henceforth be confronted not with its lack but with its consequences. Hitherto wanting the full complement of the attributes of nationalism, we were constrained to overemphasize its virtues. Many of the spokesmen of our cause were driven to extoll nationalism *per se*, which is after all a quite recent and, demonstrably, a quite inadequate human concept. It is not mankind's ultimate vision. Certainly it is not the substance of our own ancestral tradition, whose motif is not nationalism but prophetism. Nationalism is not enough. It is a minimum requirement, not a maximum program. Our national rebirth was made possible by a war in which nationalism was thoroughly exposed and discredited. Nationalism is a means, not an end. "What is great in a man," said Nietzsche, "is that he is a bridge and not a goal." This is true also of men collectively—of nations and of national cultures.

Nationalism will not suffice the eternally questing soul of our people. After its national life is secure Israel must push on to the frontiers of the new world—the world of internationalism, of economic freedom, of brotherhood and of peace. It must resume the burden of its Messianic career. "He shall not fail nor be crushed till he have set the right in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his teaching. . . . "

Zionism and Jewish Thought

The Awakening of National Consciousness

By NORMAN BENTWICH

The Attorney General for Palestine shows, in an article especially written for the Herzl Memorial Book, that owing to Zionism, Palestine with its hundred and sixty thousand Jews has already become a center of the spirit for the fifteen million Jews of the Diaspora.

IN a picture of the progress of the Zionist ideal which looks for the revival of the Jewish spirit in the land of Israel, Ahad Ha-am, some years before the War, described how gradually Palestine would become the educational and spiritual center of Jewry; how children would come to its schools and young men to its University from Jewish communities all the world over; how they would carry back with them a fertilizing influence to invigorate the communities of the Diaspora; and how by this stream drawn from a fountain of living waters the Jewish spirit would everywhere be fortified and become again active and conscious. In a striking image he said that Palestine should be the power-house of Judaism, generating spiritual electricity. The vision of the seer had come to pass in his lifetime; and it is being more and more brought to reality as each year the *Yishuv* becomes more fully self-conscious and more firmly rooted in the land.

The influence of Zionism on Jewish life and thought is twofold. In the first place, it provides the spiritual center for the Jewish people, the place in which Jewish life may freely develop according to its own genius, and there may be seen the miniature of the Jewish nationality as it should be. In the second place, it radiates a national consciousness to the Jewish communities scattered over the world and gives them a new pride and self-respect. A spiritual center is not an abstraction from a material center, a thing of the mind alone, but the expression of the spirit in a physical home, in a country where Jews live consciously as a national community and develop their thought and genius free, on the one hand, from the degradation of persecution, and, on the other hand, from the temptations of assimilation. And that center is Palestine, the land to which the heart and soul of the Jewish people are indissolubly attached. Palestine with its 160,000 Jews has already become a center of the spirit for 15,000,000 Jews of the Diaspora, and it exerts its influence over the whole people, partly by providing a pattern of Jewish life, and partly by what has been called *la propagande ambiante des exemples*, by those individuals who, going out from the center, carry its thought and its sentiment to other countries.

The other side of the influence of Zionism on Jewish culture is to be found in the awakening of national consciousness in the Jewish communities of Europe and America. Zionism in this aspect is a reaction against the force of assimilation, against that loss of identity which seemed likely in the latter part of the 19th century to destroy the cohesion of the Jewish people where they were free and emancipated. It is, as Schechter said, a declaration to the world that Judaism means to preserve its life by *not* losing it; and it finds expression on its cultural side, on the one hand, in the endeavor to stimulate the spread of the Hebrew language and the knowledge of Jewish history and literature, and, on the other hand, in a creative literature and art produced by Jews in the language and forms of the various countries in which they dwell. That conscious Jewish expression which the Zionist ideal has stimulated is to be found in such diverse forms as the Yiddish poems and the dramas of Shalom Aleichem, in the novels and romantic biographies of Zangwill, in the English poems of Emma Lazarus, in the essays of Lewisohn, in the imaginative reconstruction of Bible heroes by Arnold Zweig, in the paintings of Jewish life by the Dutch artist Josef Israels and the English artist Rothenstein.

THE expression of Jewish culture in the Diaspora, inspired by the revived Jewish consciousness, is not, however, freely and simply Jewish. Its subjects may be found in the Jewish people, but its form is taken from its particular non-Jewish environment. The more intense and, so to say, the purer expression of Jewish culture which derives from Zionism is to be found in the center itself, where both matter and form, subject and language, are determined by Jewish life. For the most striking contribution hitherto of this life has been the revival of Hebrew as a living language of the people. The achievement has been accomplished in some twenty years by a happy combination of the practical necessity of establishing a common language for the Jewish tribes which are returning together from all parts of the world, and the ideal sentiment of making the language of the Bible again the language of life. Hebrew is to-day the natural tongue of the Jewish children of Palestine, and for many of its adults a tongue acquired by force of will; and from Palestine the Hebrew speech is being carried to schools and groups in every country where Jews are settled. Hebrew is the historical and, we may well believe, the necessary vehicle of Hebraism; for the language and thought of a people are inextricably bound up together. The revival of the language, if it has not

yet produced a new expression of the essentially Hebraic genius, at least makes it more likely that it will be produced, and that in Palestine there will spring up, as it were, from the soil a new assertion of the Hebraic ideal "true to the kindred points of Heaven and home."

In Palestine, again, there has been developed during the last twenty years a system of education in Hebrew which combines the study of the Bible and Jewish tradition and Jewish history with modern secular and scientific instruction. The system of education is still in many ways defective, and bears the impress of the cramped life of the Galuth, from which many of its teachers come. But as the free society of Palestine develops, so the system of education is bound to become healthier, in closer touch with nature, and in deeper harmony with the new life; and the influence of its schools will be carried by its scholars to awakened communities outside Palestine.

IN the arts of life Jewish Palestine to-day is full of striving and conscious effort for the expression of the Hebrew spirit. Artistically its achievement so far may be small. The works of its many painters and sculptors; the production of its native drama by professional companies and by bands of workers; the collections of Jewish melody and the attempts to compose oriental music; the translation of Italian and German Opera into Hebrew; the use of traditional Jewish motifs in craft work by the Bezalel—all these efforts are, from the æsthetic and artistic aspect, small and easily criticized; but they represent, individually and together, a creative striving from which in the end something great and lasting will surely be produced. It was noted by Sir Herbert Samuel, in his survey of Jewish life in Palestine during the five years of his administration, that the essential feature of the new settlement was the sense, in the mass of the people engaged on small and trivial things, that they were taking part in a great reconstructive movement, that they were creating something new, and something that would be good, if not in their time, then in the time of their children. That determination of the individual and of the community to find a new expression in every form and activity of life, whether in social order or religion, whether in the applied or the creative arts, is the outstanding characteristic of the *Yishuv*.

On the religious side, which, from the history of the people, one might expect to be its dominant interest, there has not as yet been any distinctive development, unless it is to be seen in the transformation of the festivals of the Jewish calendar, of both the major and minor festivals, into occasions of popular rejoicing. But that a revival of Jewish culture in Palestine will have its religious significance is surely indicated by the profound interest in religious philosophy that is marked in the Hebrew literature of the country. This interest has found notable literary embodiment in the interpretation of Judaism by Ahad Ha-am and in the study of the relations of Judaism and Christianity by Klausner; and Judaism, its history and philosophy, forms a principal study of the Hebrew University. Herzl once wrote that the return to Judaism must precede the return to the Jewish land. The experience of the last ten years is that the return to Judaism will accompany the return to the Jewish land.

THE University of Jerusalem is at once the symbol and the crown of the cultural influence of Zionism. The laying of the foundation-stone of the University in the summer of 1918, while war was still being waged in Palestine, to the accompaniment of the guns on the front line of the British and Turkish Armies, was a dramatic act of the Zionist Commission which went out to Palestine shortly after the issue of the Balfour Declaration. It was a proclamation to the world of the Jewish resolve that the National Home should be a spiritual center; that the Jewish people relied on knowledge, and not on arms; and that its new sanctuary at Jerusalem should be a house of learning.

From its earliest beginnings the University has pursued together the study of the past and scientific research for the increase of knowledge. Its very site on Mount Scopus overlooking, on the one side, the eternal city and the site of the Temple, and the Jordan Valley, the Dead Sea, and the eternal hills of Judea, Ephraim, Gilead and Moab, on the other side, symbolizes the double aspect of the University. Here it looks out on the forces and wonders of nature; there on the hearth of the great religions of the East and West. The University has well been called the new Sermon on the Mount. It is steadily becoming a center of Jewish scholarship seeking to revive the spirit of Judaism, and a center of scientific research by Jews, aiming particularly at making the Holy Land a healthy and progressive country populated by healthy and progressive men and women. And men and women will surely come from all parts of the world to its lectures and to its laboratories to catch the inspiration of the revival of learning in the land of the Bible.

Included in the University is the National Library, now almost completed, that will house over 200,000 books, the greatest collection of books in the Near East, and likely to become the greatest library of Hebrew and Oriental literature. Those who work on Mount Scopus, the Hill of the Watchman, look out on the past as well as on the future, and are laying the foundation of a Palestinian culture that will harmonize the heritage of the old-young nationality with the spirit of our own time, realizing the words of the poet:

> "If you tread the past beneath your feet
> Be sure the future will not stand."

The Rôle of Palestine

The Conception of Nationhood Through Jewish History

By DR. MORDECAI M. KAPLAN

A PEOPLE needs poets to reveal and interpret its innermost self and heroes to keep it true and constant to that innermost self. If Herzl, hough a poet by nature, has come to figure in our nnals as one of our foremost heroes it is because he –more than any other Jew during the last century— as kept us from playing false to the law of our being s the Jewish people. He has imbued us with the ourage to be true to ourselves and to the destiny for which history has marked us out. When the mighty mong us spoke of Jewish nationhood with bated reath and sought to suppress the age-long yearning f the Jewish people for a Jewish land, he sounded the umpet of national redemption and demanded for his eople—as of right—a place in the sun.

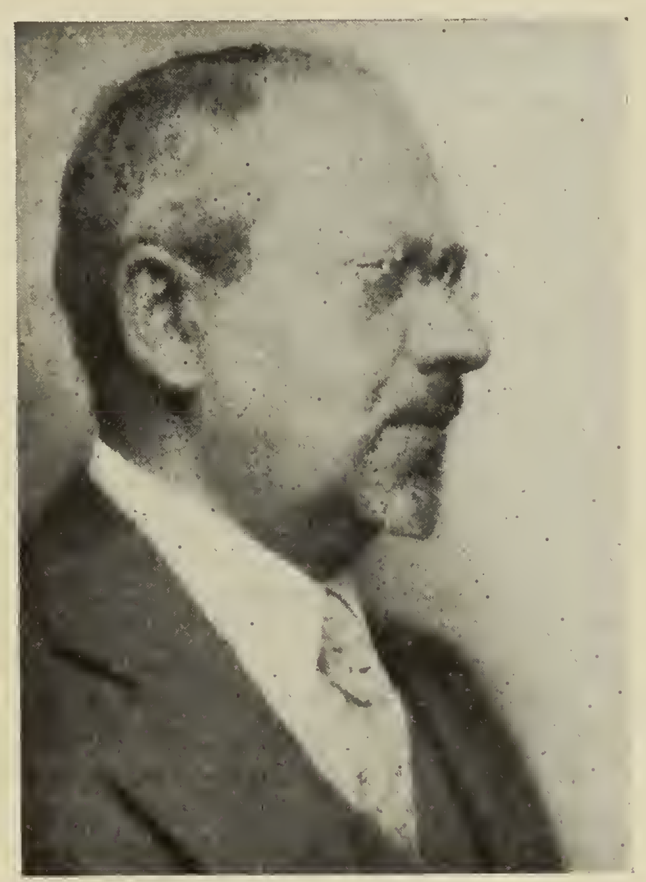
Nationhood has always been regarded as the *sine ua non* of those unique cultural and spiritual values lentified as Judaism. Whatever else "Israel" may enote or connote, it has always referred first and oremost to the nation which came into being as a ation in the Land of Israel, and which retained its naracter as a nation because it persisted in reasserting s claim upon the Land from which it had been orcibly ejected.

The Jewish people has always been highly conscious f its relationship to the Land in which it developed s national life. It did not take that relationship for ranted as most nations did or o, but read in it the meaning f its career. Unlike the other ncient peoples, it never condered itself autochthonous; never lost sight of its having ome to the Land from elsewhere, and having begun to inction as a nation in the and.

It is impossible to read the ories of the Patriarchs withut being impressed by the fact nat the basic theme is how od enabled the Patriarchs to ike formal possession of the and of the Amorites, and how le reassured them again and gain that He would enable heir descendants to take actual ossession of it.

As Genesis unfolds the epic f adventure which had to be ndertaken by Israel's foreears to win the Land, so Deuteronomy plays variations on the theme of what their descendants would have to do to hold the Land. From the beginning to the end of Deuteronomy the one great concern is that Israel shall not forfeit its right to the Land. In chapter after chapter Israel is reminded that all which it has gone through has been to train it and give it that wherewith it might be able to attain its goal as a people in the Land. The aim and reward of its obedience to the laws of God are continued possession of the Land and the enjoyment of its blessings, in which it excels even the watered shores of the Nile. On the other hand, in case of disobedience, the Land would be forfeited and every conceivable disaster which was wont to follow in the train of invasion and conquest by an enemy people would befall Israel. Thus in one uniform strain does Deuteronomy interpret Israel's fortunes and failures in terms of the part that it is to play in the Land.

If we were to take a survey of the other books of the Bible we would invariably meet with the same tendency to define Israel's experiences and backslidings, its failures and its hopes in terms of its relationship to the Land. Some of those writings belong to a period earlier than the Torah, some are contemporaneous with it, and some belong to a later period. But no "value" is so uniformly interpreted and emphasized as that of the Land in its relation to Israel. The Torah, however, embodying as it does the teachings of the earlier prophets—and enjoying, as it has done, pre-eminence among the sacred writings of the Jewish people—must be regarded as most decisive in the shaping of Judaism.



DR. MORDECAI M. KAPLAN

WHEN, therefore, we find the Torah making Israel's relation to the Land its principal motif, we cannot conceive how it could ever have been possible for the Jews to contemplate their functioning as a group without association with the Land. Self-evident as all this may sound, we find it necessary to harp on this fact in view of the opinion—widely held among modern scholars—that when the civilization of the Jewish people entered upon its theocratic stage during the

period of the Second Commonwealth the Jews ceased to be a nation and became a church, an ecclesia. These scholars—accustomed to thinking of nationhood as the product mainly of political organization and statehood, and finding that from the Return to the inauguration of the Maccabean Dynasty the Jews were a vassal state with a minimum of political machinery—conclude that the Jews became a "Temple-community" and passed into the class of organization best designated as church.

Assuming that a church is a social or spiritual organization upon which territory exercises no determining influence (a current assumption which is rather wide of the facts), they conclude that after the Return the life, the habits and the hopes of the Jews were those shared by a church insofar as their conception of God now transcended the limitations of territory and nationhood. The Jews were accordingly an ecclesiastical entity, a kingdom of priests. This view totally misrepresents the facts. Apart from what we would infer *a priori* from the nature of the Torah, which dominated the life of the Jews—that they could not possibly have thought of their future in any other but national-territorial terms—the actualities of Jewish history during the entire period of the Second Commonwealth confirm that inference.

The main support relied upon by those who imagine they can find a precedent in the past for divorcing the destiny of Israel from its local associations is the collection of prophecies contained in the latter part of the Book of Isaiah. While it may be conceded that to the Torah Israel is inseparable from its Land, it is alleged that the author of those prophecies—which speak of Israel as the servant of God destined to bring the light of truth and justice to the nations—had in mind an Israel that transcended the limitations of national boundaries and of nationhood. That author may have been far ahead of the times. His universalism ill comported with the narrow nationalism of the lesser spirits fettered by the bonds of legalism.

But now he can be appreciated and his teaching adopted as the correct interpretation of Israel's mission to the peoples of the earth, a mission that is unhampered by the narrowing influence of territorial interests. So runs the argument; and it is an argument that is blithely oblivious of the facts with regard to the anonymous author of the mission idea. The truth is that it never occurred to him to perceive Israel as destined to achieve its goal as a landless people. On the contrary, like all the seers and lawgivers of Israel, he could not help viewing with concern the dispersion of the Jewish people, a dispersion which in his day threatened to become the dissolution of Israel. But instead of losing heart as most of his contemporaries did when they saw Jewish family after family migrating and their own land filling with strangers, he—in the firmness of his faith in the God of Israel—concluded that even the dispersion was serving the purpose of acquainting the nations with the God of Israel. But that purpose was by no means to be final. It was only a mediatory step to the attainment of th final goal, that of Israel's restoration to its Land.

When we turn to the Rabbinic writings, whic contain the teachings that dominated the Jewis consciousness for the last eighteen centuries, we fin the same unequivocal acceptance of nationhood as th only possible status for Israel, whether in exile amon the other nations or redeemed from exile. As consequence of the general *Weltanschauung* which pre vailed until modern times the Jewish civilization wa other-worldly—i.e., it was fostered entirely in th spirit of the assumption that everything in this li was of value only insofar as it qualified the huma being for salvation or a share in the world to com From that viewpoint Israel was to the Rabbis a ecclesia (*Kenesseth Israel*) in the sense that its enti history and training were such as to qualify those wh belonged to it for the world to come. This fact, to has misled some present-day Jewish thinkers int believing that Rabbinism treated the nationhood c the Jewish people as of secondary importance o perhaps, as of no consequence whatever. The mere acquaintance with Rabbinic writings ought to di abuse one's mind of such an error. It is an inco testable fact that there is not the slightest hint an where in Rabbinic literature that Eretz Israel, th Holy Tongue or Messianic government can be omitte from the program of Israel's future.

The Rabbis held on to the national prerogatives c land, language and group autonomy with an unwave ing tenacity that renders a denationalized Israel deliberate subversion and repudiation of the past, a in no sense a continuation of it.

It is a mistake to imagine that the Jews througho all the centuries since the destruction of the Secor Commonwealth merely dreamed about Palestine, found in the recital of prayers about it a substitute f living there. The fact is that until the Arab occup tion in 634 the Jews probably constituted a majori of the population in Palestine. With the possib exception of the hundred years between the first ar second Crusades Palestine was continuously inhabite by Jews. The number of Jews in Palestine througho the centuries was determined not by the econom opportunities of the land, which shrank with th years, but by the degree of relaxation of the rigoro governmental measures against Jewish immigratio When, in 1267, Nahmanides established the practi of having the Jews in the Diaspora support those wh had migrated to Palestine, the Jewish people indicate its intention of retaining its hold on the Land as a essential condition to its continuing its life as people in the Diaspora. It was, in a way, an answ to Jehudah Halevi's charge that the Jews merely r peated their prayers for a Return as parrots repeat th words they are taught. Halevi overlooked the fa that it was impossible for the Jews of his day to accor pany their prayers with any practical action. would have meant certain death, as it did in his ow case. The action of Nahmanides is proof that as soo

s there was the least chance of reentering the Land he Jews did so, despite the impossibility of establishing themselves economically.

BUT the masses of Jewry, fed on the hope of a Return, could not possibly remain contented with his tenuous hold on the Land. From t me to time hey broke all bonds of restraining practical considerations and flung themselves, as it were, wildly against he closed gates of the Land. These were the Messianic movements that ended in tragic failure. Nor an we estimate the scope of these movements by what ve know of them—which is their culmination, when hey broke like waves which have reached their crest.

Mystic lore found expression in the Jewish as in all other ancient civilizations because in its essence this ore is the product of man's desire to adapt his environment to his needs, to render physical and spiritual orces subservient to his wants. But the outstanding lifference in the application of mystic lore in the case of the Jews was that they hoped to use it as a means of ecovering their nationhood, of forcing as it were he hand of God to redeem His people, to send the Messiah and to restore them to their land. A colony of practising mystics was actually established in Safed, Palestine, to prepare the way, and exerted no small influence on the Jews of the Diaspora. Chassidism was an outlet for the nationalist energies of East European Jews before the Emancipation. It is hus that—in the vast complex of Cabalistic interests which occupied a goodly part of Jewry down to our own times—we can discover the extent to which the estoration of Eretz Israel and the resumption of national life constituted the most meaningful part of ewish life during the centuries of exile.

With Judaism thus insistently contemplating the ewish people as destined to play their part in the world as a nation, what could have been the grounds on which the liberal-minded Christians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries urged the admission of the ews to citizenship? Did they expect the Jews to surrender their nationhood? If so, on what did they base their expectation? The answer to these questions would throw light upon the process of adjustment which the Jews were expected to undergo in their attitude toward the nationhood of the Jewish people after their recognition as full-fledged citizens. It must be remembered that Emancipation came before and not after the Reform movement developed its philosophy of denationalized Judaism. With nothing to indicate that the Jews were willing to surrender their nationhood, with what plausible argument could the friends of the Jews urge that they should be granted civil and political rights?

The following passage from the speech on Jewish Disabilities made by Macaulay in 1833 in the English Parliament will help us get at the attitude of the liberal-minded Christians toward Jewish nationality:

"Another objection which has been made to this notion is that he Jews look forward to the coming of a great deliverer, to their eturn to Palestine, to the rebuilding of their Temple, to the revival of their ancient worship, and that therefore they will always consider England not their country but merely as their place of exile.

"But surely, sir, it would be the grossest ignorance of human nature to imagine that the anticipation of an event which is to happen at some time altogether indefinite, of an event which has been vainly expected during many centuries, of an event which even those who confidently expect that it will happen do not confidently expect that they or their children or their grandchildren will see, can ever occupy the minds of men to such a degree as to make them regardless of what is near and present and certain.

"Indeed, Christians, as well as Jews, believe that the existing order of things will come to an end. Many Christians believe that Jesus will visibly reign on earth during a thousand years. Expositors of prophecy have gone so far as to fix the year when the millenial period is to commence. Are we to exclude all millenarians from parliament and office, on the ground that they are impatiently looking forward to the miraculous monarchy which is to supersede the present dynasty and the present constitution of England, and that therefore they cannot be heartily loyal to King William?"

We gather from this argument that Macaulay classed the Jewish conception of nationhood with the belief of the average person, Jew or Christian, in the new world order. Since that world order was not expected to be the outcome of human initiative but was to be inaugurated in God's own time and God's own way, its only pragmatic consequence was passive waiting. In other words, Macaulay, like other Christian liberals, took it for granted that the Jews would *not* renounce their nationhood. To demand such a renunciation of them would be tantamount, the liberals realized, to demanding of them the renunciation of their God and their past. So the liberals struck a compromise. They would allow the Jews both citizenship and Jewish nationhood, provided (and this they devoutly hoped) that the Jews would allow their nationhood to remain passive and dormant.

Since Herzl's time the relation of the Jew to the state has been adjusted more in accord with the recognized possibilities of Palestine and the aims of the Jewish people in a central homeland. But the doctrine of nationhood persists and forms an integral part of the self-consciousness of the Jewish people. More, the principle of nationalism has been recognized as an important factor in the development of the individual Jew. Nationhood has come to be seen, as Judaism has always seen it, as the principal spiritual opportunity by which man is enabled to fulfill himself to the utmost.

I THINK the Jewish question is no more a social than a religious one, notwithstanding that it sometimes takes on these and other forms. It is a national question which can be solved only by making it a political world-question to be discussed and controlled by the civilized nations of the world in council. We are a people—*one* people.

OPPRESSION and persecution cannot exterminate us. No nation on earth has survived such sufferings as we have gone through. Jew-baiting has merely stripped off our weaklings; the strong among us were invariably true to their race when persecution broke out against them.

From the Judenstaat.

The Collapse of Assimilationism

From Romanticism to Reason

By LUDWIG LEWISOHN

WHEN the hearts of men begin to be troubled the crumbling of their defenses has begun and the walls they have built against the light begin to be undermined from within. They may and often do still furiously or stubbornly deny the great change on the edge of which they stand. But their very fury or their very stubbornness betrays them. Yet they are commonly quite sincere in their protests, because many of the processes that lead up to the ultimate inner change are unconscious and many of the outer experiences that lead to it are promptly repressed. So that the change, when it comes, has all the appearance of a conversion, a sudden turning, and is yet in fact but the last link in a chain woven perhaps through months and years. After a certain age the individual molds of life are so hardened that the inner change cannot struggle through nor the heart be broken of its habits. Thus there will be, for many years to come, unhappy persons among us who try all the vain old ways of life. But all the younger generations are ours or, if here and there they are not wholly so, it will be our fault. For the winds of the spirit all blow to fill our sails. . . .

What is here coldly formulated was brought home to me again the other day by a vivid experience. A friend came and told me that the *Consistoire Israélite* of Paris was trying an experiment, something new and tentative and strange: a series of lectures in fashionable Jewish drawing-rooms on Sunday afternoons by Jews on Jewish themes. M. Fleg had already spoken; a distinguished lady had told the story of the mother of Joseph of Naxos. Would I speak too? "But," my friend added, "not a word of nationalism or Zionism in that milieu. We don't, you know, want to frighten them to death!" . . .

It was a very beautiful house that received us. An exquisite collection of modern French paintings adorned the walls of the spacious rooms. Not only our host and hostess and their sons but many of the guests spoke to us in English. Had German been better form they could all, of course, have spoken that. A milieu, in brief, of the highest international culture but, in principle passionately and even a little rigidly French. When I faced my audience of about a hundred in the ballroom it seemed to me that I had never seen so many decorations assembled in one spot. The Legion of Honor fairly blossomed here. And I seemed at once to perceive, in spite of the presence of the Chief Rabbi of France at my right, that these ladies and gentlemen, though gathered here as Jews for a Jewish purpose, were not doing so quite gladly nor quite freely but were rather following an inner compulsion which, though they could not resist it, rendered them a little somber and a little ill at ease. But they had after all, not been able to resist it. Even here, I said to myself, even here the defenses are crumbling.

I could not, of course, speak from notes, but read a carefully prepared French manuscript—a description of the dis-ease and the spiritual barrenness and the final human failure of the assimilationist way of life and I described that way of life in other lands, hoping all the while that the Horatian: *de te fabula narratur* would convert my remarks from academic observations into troubling truths. I think, in fact, that it did. For I felt here and there in my audience a perceptible stiffening and resistance; and the minds of people do not thus resist what is outside of them and does not concern them. No, this type of resistance is the definite symptom of a spiritual conflict. That conflict may have, according to age and character and circumstance various issues. It exists. It existed even here. And it is the existence of this spiritual conflict as a minimum in all groups of all lands that marks the definite end of the age of assimilation.


LUDWIG LEWISOHN

My audience was very kind to me when my talk was over. But most of the individual ladies and gentlemen who spoke to me afterwards avoided any direct reference to the substance of what I had said. But they were plainly enough more troubled, more disturbed than they had been at the beginning, and my special friend here assured me that debates were already beginning as the audience drifted down the stairs. . . .

A small group lingered: one or two quite young men, a single elderly gentleman, a youngish Rabbi. "Now," said the latter, "since you believe all that, do you stop *there?*" The ice was broken. These were Zionists; these were partakers of our rebirth. They were to be found even here. . . .

THIS Parisian experience of mine could, of course, have been easily duplicated in London or Berlin or New York or Chicago. It is typical and it is ultimate in its significance. Everywhere, even where tolerance and outward good fortune and acceptance and a sufficient measure of liberty exist—even there the old way of life invented in the nineteenth century no longer satisfies the hearts and minds of men. For it was, more than almost any other way of life known among men, a way of life deliberately constructed and adopted according to political and cultural theories that rested on shallow foundations and took no heed of the deeper instincts and needs of the human spirit. I shall not go so far as the famous French obscurantist and call the nineteenth century "the stupid century." For the real trouble with the nineteenth century was not that it was scientific; the trouble was that it was not scientific enough. It generalized with insufficient data and prematurely. Witnessing the first flush of science it romanticized science into a short-cut to a hard, dazzling but non-existent golden age. Human nature was supposed to have changed and to be in its essential qualities capable of change; and man, tribeless, nationless, beautifully blank and rational, was supposed to be steering toward a future whose aims were marked by, let us say, Auguste Comte and Edward Bellamy.

We have grown more patient. We have more faith in science, not less. But we have seen that science is a creation of the human spirit which leaves that spirit, though enlarged, true to its eternal nature. Thus we see that the union of race or group—call it what you like—with psychical character and historic experience is one of the primary facts of human life on this planet. One of the iron facts. Sectional splintering-off has happened to other peoples than ours. It does not change the central situation. Flying in the face of this fact or trying to escape from it has brought the miseries of maladjustment, of generations of crippled lives. There is still much resistance to this truth. The human mind moves slowly and men are loth to give up ideals by which they have tried, however unsuccessfully, to live. But from day to day a higher clarification sets in; from day to day it becomes clearer that the assimilationist is the romantic reactionary and that the Jewish nationalist is the hard-headed, scientific thinker who faces the historic and psychological facts.

I do not think that this phase of our rebirth has been sufficiently dwelled upon. We have too often let our assimilationist friends call us dreamers and romanticists. It is precisely the other way around. It is they who are not learning the lesson of history; it is we who have had the good luck to perceive the direction in which the human spirit is tending. It is they who cannot imagine nationalism without rivalries or wars. It is we who know that the affirmation of nationalism in a spirit of love and peace through economic co-operation is the only rational ideal of the next few centuries. Since the obliteration of differences between men and peoples is not only impossible but odious, it follows that the affirmation and toleration of differences is the only possibility left. And, in fact, however premature positivists have talked, all members of all peoples have instinctively lived on that principle. All peoples except our own. Our unique and tragic situation in the world caused us to take seriously as a possible principle of life the bloodless positivist dream of a featureless and scientific abstract man. But since the nations did not share our error we had no place in which to become the man of the positivist dream, but became half Nordics or half Latins and so, in fact, neither flesh nor fowl.

Slowly the nineteenth century is ebbing from the shore of the mind. The reaffirmation of Israel is a part of that process. If the deep, inevitable trend of things is providence, we are not flying in its face. This is the deeper sense of the words of the sages: *im ein ani li mi li?* We must be for ourselves; we must be ourselves; being ourselves we cannot seek otherness without disaster. We are not, as the words of the sages continue, only for ourselves. But only through the affirmation of our natural selves can we be anything for and to others. The end of assimilation brings us back to the psychology of our teacher Hillel. We are a chosen people as every people is a chosen people: chosen by the world-trend to certain characteristics, activities, thoughts, aspirations. Perhaps we have talked so much about being chosen because there lurked in us the temptation to escape our election. All other peoples accept theirs with satisfaction and joy. We are at last once more doing so likewise. The end of assimilation does not mean revolution; it does not mean upheaval; it means a return from sickness to health, from romanticism to the light of reason, from evasion to creative activity.

ANTI-SEMITISM increases day by day and hour by hour among the nations; indeed, it is bound to increase, because the causes of its growth continue to exist and cannot be removed. Its remote cause is our loss of the power of assimilation during the Middle Ages; its immediate cause is our excessive production of mediocre intellects who cannot find an outlet downwards or upwards—that is to say, no wholesome outlet in either direction. When we sink we become a revolutionary proletariat, the subordinate officers of the revolutionary party; when we rise there rises also our terrible power of the purse.

From the Judenstaat.

Vindication and Triumph

The Theoretic and Practical Success of Herzl's Aims

By RABBI BARNETT BRICKNER

In this article Rabbi Brickner, one of the most prominent of the younger Reform rabbis, and active in the Zionist movement, has traced the results of the work which Herzl initiated. During the past twenty-five years the ideal implications of Herzl's program and the practical aspects of his plan have found increasing realization, as the author demonstrates.

THE period of assimilation into which Herzl entered was negated and invalidated by the ideals and forces which had performed the miracle of Jewish survival during the long night of the Galuth. From the days of Mendelssohn Jews had been living under the seductive spell of political emancipation and cultural enlightenment. The dominant *Gedankenstrom* of the time was cosmopolitanism, which taught that all racial, national and religious distinctions were fictitious. For the cosmopolites universalism took the place of nationalism. For religion they substituted a secularistic view of life which a materialistic science and philosophy seemed to strengthen. Furthermore, cosmopolitanism put mankind in the place of man. As Rousseau, one of its intellectual fathers, had written: "No more are there Germans, Frenchmen, Spaniards—only Europeans."

In such a milieu it was inevitable that the Jewish problem should be conceived not as the problem of the Jewish people, but of the individual Jew. The emancipation of the Jews from persecution and oppression, and their merging and ultimate absorption by the peoples among whom they lived—this was their formulation of the problem. All Jewish movements of that day lay under the spell of cosmopolitan philosophy. This is especially true of Reform Judaism in Western Europe and of the revolutionary Socialist movement in Russia.

Herzl dared challenge not only the validity of the formulation of the Jewish problem by the assimilationists, but also its solution. He was the prophet of modern progressive Jewish nationalism, and his appearance marks a new era—the third in Jewish history.

Synthesizing the best elements of the philosophy of the two periods which had preceded him—religious nationalism and the progressive, scientific and free assimilationist outlook on life—he held that the solution of the Jewish problem would not come through political emancipation of the individual Jew by the nations of the world. This solution, he said, spelled dissolution. Emancipation for the Jewish people and the solution of their problem—both individual and national—lay in and through self-emancipation. For Herzl conceived the Jewish problem to be primarily that of perpetuating and developing the Jewish people as a people and the bearers of an idea. Herzl thought it conceivable for the Jewish people to have homes and even to live in prosperity and freedom everywhere, and yet to be at home nowhere in the spiritual sense. He was particularly concerned with perpetuating and saving the Jewish idea from extinction, for he saw the need of releasing the enormous spiritual values latent in the Jewish ethical, cultural and spiritual heritage for the benefit of all mankind. Herzl's philosophy of Jewish life and his solution of the Jewish problem may be summed up as follows:

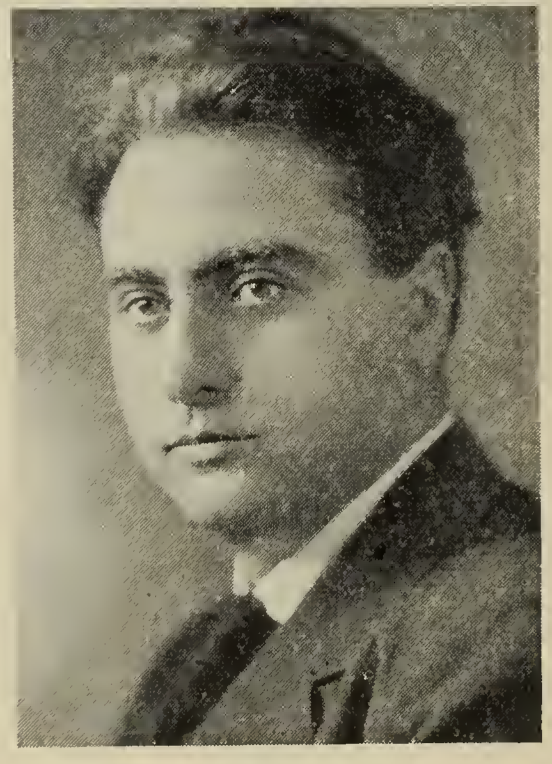
1. Wherever they live in organized groups the Jews are a people and a nationality; here the word nationality is used not in a political, but in a psychic and cultural sense.

2. Judaism is not merely a faith, a cult, a religion in the Christian significance of these terms, but a civilization, a culture unique in its ethical and social emphasis.

3. Herzl believed that the spirit of the new age in which we live is the spirit of science, progress and freedom, and that the entire Jewish heritage must be reevaluated in terms of this spirit.

4. To make the Jews a nation in the political and economic sense in Palestine, even as they are a nationality everywhere outside of Palestine, was the central point of Herzl's program.

5. And this Jewish Homeland in Palestine was to be linked with organized autonomous Jewish centers the world over.



RABBI BARNETT BRICKNER

Let us now see how Herzl's vision has fared in these past twenty-five years.

Cosmopolitanism, the philosophy of life which had dominated human thought and the Jewish movements of Herzl's day, has been worsted by nationalism—to-day the most significant force in the life of the world.

The confusion which formerly centered around the terms nation, state and nationality has been cleared up during the past quarter of a century. We no longer think of nationalism and nation as interchangeable concepts. By nationalism and nationality we mean not a political but a psychological and cultural concept. For example, a nationality may exist without any political separateness whatsoever, as do the Welsh and Scotch nationalities in England. Wherever a people is conscious of ties of unity—racial, historical, linguistic, legal and religious—it is, by virtue of the self-consciousness which these ties produce, a nationality. Wherever such a people lives on its own historic soil and under its own democratic form of government it constitutes a nation. But many nationalities may live together by common consent on the territory of any one of them, under a democratic government in which all are equal participants. Such an aggregation also constitutes a nation. Modern Switzerland, Canada, Poland, Russia and even the United States are nations in this sense of the term. States exist whenever government controls nationalities for its own purposes and without regard to their will and preferences, as in the case of old Russia, Austria-Hungary and Turkey. Nationality is the basis and material of both states and nations.

In the light of this formulation of the concept it is impossible to deny nationality to the Jew. The Treaty of Versailles recognized this when it redrew the map of Europe along nationalistic lines, and gave to the Jews, as to other national minorities, cultural autonomy within such reconstituted countries as Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Esthonia and Lithuania.

It is self-evident that when we view nationalism in this light members of a minority nationality living under the political suzerainty of another nationality cannot be guilty of dual citizenship. The opposition of the early leaders of Reform Judaism to Herzl rose from the fear that Zionism would jeopardize the newly acquired political rights of the Jews and denationalize them in Western Europe and America. Jewish nationalism, however, does not divide the loyalty of the Jew. It is not irredentist in character. Jewish nationalism seeks to release the spiritual potentialities latent in the Jewish heritage, and to make them available as contributing factors to the cultural and spiritual life of the nations of which the Jewish groups happen to be members. But this contribution cannot be released or developed unless the Jewish group becomes conscious of its cultural and spiritual heritage, and seeks by means of education and community effort to transmit this heritage to its children. The only other alternative is for the Jews to intermarry and disappear, and thus to make but a single, final contribution which would be physical and not cultural in character. The Jews of every country would then be merely a mathematical addition to a perhaps already overcrowded population. But in living as a distinctive national group with their own communal, cultural and spiritual life while participating in the larger life of their neighbors, the Jews in each country make a continuous contribution that is worth while. Jewish support of the movement to build up a Homeland in Palestine in no way either divides their loyalty or weakens their usefulness as citizens of their countries. This the Balfour Declaration made clear.

Herzl, the prophet of modern Jewish nationalism, would have found had he lived that the changes and developments which have taken place in the fields of modern philosophy, anthropology, psychology and sociology have vindicated his program—not only vindicated, indeed, but strengthened it. It is my belief that this is his greatest victory.

We have dealt with the theoretical phases of the question of how the program and ideals which Herzl sponsored have stood the test of the past quarter century. Now let us see whether Herzl has been vindicated and his program has triumphed in the practical sense.

Herzl contended that it was not enough for Jews to establish colonies in Palestine without political security, as the Lovers of Zion under the leadership of Pinsker had done. "What we need," said Herzl, "is a legally assured and publicly secured Homeland for our people in Palestine." He made every effort to obtain this political and legal assurance and security. He negotiated with the Sultan of Turkey and the German Emperor, the Russian Court and British Premiers, but all in vain. Furthermore, he held that the political, economic and cultural problems of Europe would never be solved as long as the Jewish problem remained unsolved. In his time few heeded his words. He died too early to see the day when Lord Balfour, in behalf of the British Government, would offer "to use their best endeavors to establish in Palestine a National Home for the Jewish people," and when fifty-five nations of the world would give their endorsement to the program of a regenerated Jewish Palestine. International events have fulfilled his prophecy of a publicly assured and legally secured Jewish Homeland.

Had he lived he would have found the Orthodox and Reform Jews who had bitterly attacked him and his program rallying to his support. No longer do the Orthodox Jews see in Zionism a movement that attempts to force the hand of Providence, or that is contrary to the positive teaching of Orthodox Judaism with regard to the coming of the Messiah and the providential work of God in bringing about the Restoration. Under the auspices of the Mizrachi —the movement organized in 1903 by Rabbi Isaac Jacob Reines of Lida, Russia—thousands of Orthodox Jews are banded together within the Zionist body for practical work in the upbuilding of Palestine.

In November of last year the most prominent of the Rabbinic and lay leaders of American Reform

Judaism—among them men who had bitterly contended against Zionism because of their belief that the Mission of Israel runs contrary to the nationalistic philosophy of Judaism—joined the Jewish Agency and ceased to regard themselves as anti-Zionists. They relented in their opposition and changed their name to non-Zionists, by which they mean to indicate that though they do not subscribe as yet to the political part of the Zionist program they stand ready to help in the economic and cultural upbuilding of Palestine. The influence of Zionism on American Reform Judaism is becoming noticeable to all who will peer under the surface. Many of the younger leaders who occupy prominent pulpits in the Reform congregations of America—pulpits formerly filled by rabid anti-Zionists—are Zionists. And their influence is being felt in every phase of their congregational work.

In Herzl's days the intellectuals and radicals—especially the Jewish Socialists—regarded Zionism as a reactionary movement. It was their feeling, at the end of the nineteenth century, that the world was on the threshold of the Messianic era, that the dreams of cosmopolitanism would soon be realized, and that with the realization would come the end of anti-Semitism. But fate played them a strange trick. The last quarter of a century has witnessed no diminution but rather an increase and intensification of anti-Semitism. Sobered by the effects of assimilation, disillusioned and disappointed, Jewish intellectuals the world over are finding their way back to the fold of their people. Now they are seeking to establish universal peace and brotherhood by way of nationalism and internationalism rather than through cosmopolitanism. The Jewish intellectuals of to-day are inquiring as to the essence of Judaism; and by studying Hebrew literature and lore they are finding its content rich and meaningful.

The past quarter of a century has experienced a marked change in the attitude toward Zionism by Jewish Socialists everywhere, with only one exception—Russia. Even in Herzl's day, at the Second Zionist Congress, the Poale Zion, or Socialist Zionist faction, appeared as an organized group of Jewish working-men. As a result of the change which later took place in world Socialism, Jewish Socialists began to perceive that between international Socialism and nationalism there was no conflict. The Jewish Socialist Zionists founded their movement because their aim is to see Palestine reconstructed on the Socialist principles of Karl Marx and the Hebrew prophets, between whom they trace a spiritual kinship. In Palestine to-day most of the Jewish workers are members of this faction and represent this point of view. At the convention of the Second Socialist International held in Europe in the Summer of 1928 the Pro-Palestine Committee was established—an indication of the very sympathetic attitude of the leaders of world Socialism toward Zionism.

I have spoken of an exception; and this exception, paradoxical though it may sound, is to be found in the one country of the world where Socialism seems to have achieved its greatest success—Soviet Russia.

The Jewish members of the Communist party, known as the *Yevsektsia*, are the only Communists in Russia who refuse to recognize nationalism as a principle of organization in the Soviet State. The Jewish Communists in their fanatic Marxian orthodoxy "out-Marx" even their leader Lenin. They persist in decrying Jewish nationalism as counter-revolutionary and as a veil for English imperialism. They forbid the teaching of Hebrew, they persecute Zionists and the practice of the Jewish religion.

Herzl has had one further vindication. When he first propounded his solution of the Jewish problem many of the Jews in Eastern Europe were moving across the Atlantic to America. To the Jewish masses Columbus and not Elijah was the Messiah, and their salvation seemed to lie in the crossing not of the Mediterranean but of the Atlantic.

America was their Palestine and New York their new Zion. But in the last ten years the gates to Columbus' country have been closed; and they are likely to remain closed, especially to the peoples of Eastern and Southern Europe. Conditions in Eastern Europe are such that over-population and lack of economic opportunity make it a matter of life and death for many Jews to emigrate. Only one land remains open to our brethren in Eastern Europe who must emigrate—Palestine. The golden keys which unlock the gates to that land are with our people.

The recent thorough and scientific survey made by a group of forty impartial experts in various fields renders the verdict that Palestine is large enough to accommodate from two and a half to three million Jews within its own borders and in surrounding countries; that the soil is fertile; that the climate is ideal; that capital invested would bear revenue. The thousands of Chalutzim living and working together under the most adverse conditions have demonstrated the Jew's ability to live and work co-operatively, and even communistically, without the motive of private property or private capital. This fact was impressed upon me when I came from Russia to Palestine. In Russia, where I had expected to find colonization on a co-operative basis, the settlements I visited were all conducted on individualistic lines—with the single exception of the co-operative colony of the Left Wing of the Poale Zionists, which has since been closed down by the *Yevsektsia*. In Palestine, where one would more easily expect to find colonization conducted along the lines of private capital, one finds numerous colonies in which people live and work on a communistic basis; and, what is even more surprising, these colonies are quite successful.

Out of the past twenty-five years one principle has emerged that will remain secure for all time—the principle of the establishment of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine by and for the Jewish people.

If Zion Comes True . . . .

Solving the Dilemma of the American Jew

By WALDO FRANK

Analyzing the dilemma which confronts some American Jews in their attitude to Zionism, Mr. Frank, one of the foremost interpreters of the American scene, answers a number of questions which plague his fellow Jews. Elaborating a philosophy expressed in a recent book by him, Mr. Frank declares that only through an active group life and through such activities as participation in the renaissance of Palestine can American Jewry maintain the strength and creativity of its individuality.

IT is an admitted fact that the response of the Jews of the United States to the cause of Zionism has been on the whole disappointing. Many thousands, of course, have proved their interest in the most material of ways; nor have there been wanting leaders and prophets among American Jewry to urge the masses to contribute to the great dream, and to make their own contribution in energy and thought. Yet, by and large, in view of the wealth, the intelligence and the economic power of the Jews who have partaken of the unexampled opportunities of American life, their share in the movement has been minor. I recall the amazement with which I studied the figures that were shown me when I was in Palestine two years ago: the comparatively greater efforts put forth by Jews of almost every other portion of the world—from South Africa to Poland.

Many reasons have been ascribed to this uncomfortable fact. It has been said that the American Jew was too well at ease in the fleshpots of the American Egypt to be aroused by a cause so romantic, so spiritual, above all so "remote." Zionism was not "practical" enough. To give to the starving wretches of Galicia or for the building of farms in the lush lands of Crimea was one thing; to give to a project such as Zionism, which, after all, had its chief strength in ideological and historical realms, was something else. . . . Or it has been said that the language of Zionism is alien to the West, and to the Western Jew. Here was a philosophy whose roots were medieval. The Eastern Jew was still close enough in spirit to the age of Jehuda Halevi or of the Gaon of Vilna to be able to believe in the literal prophecies of the texts. But why should the emancipated liberal of the West, to whom the Talmud had, at best, a symbolic meaning and to whom the concept of nationalism was suspicious, be troubled with this age-old aspiration of a suffering folk to return to the exact land of its dubious forefathers—a land, it happens, far from flowing with milk and honey, a land flowing with even very little water, and where the shrewd eye of perfidious Albion watched over its own, decidedly not Jewish, interests.



WALDO FRANK

Such arguments as these have been answered many times. What has perhaps remained unsaid, or at least been said with insufficient clearness, is that there are deeper reasons behind the reluctance of the American Jew—reasons which are not plain to himself. Yet only when the profoundest elements in the native-born American Jew's difficulty are brought to light, squarely faced, honestly resolved, can Zionism expect anything like a whole heart and mind in the American movement.

Essentially, I believe, what troubles the American Jew is the question of his status *as an American*, if Zionism does realize its aspiration.

"What," he asks himself, unconsciously for the most part—since exact introspection is very rare, even among the Jews, "what will *I* be, if this fatherland comes true? The problem is simple enough for my cousins in Rumania and Poland; even for my friends in the German *Reich*. They are guests, more or less welcome, in an alien house. The culture of their land is not theirs. It was created and full-fledged before they came. They participate in it only in the shallowest degree. They are, first and last, Jews in a land which tolerates them only to the extent that they hide or subdue or relinquish their Jewishness. Centuries have but made clear their essential apartness. A homeland in Palestine will not basically change their status: it will but give it dignity and protection. They will now be, not aliens with no support beyond the charity of friends outside their borders or beyond the indulgence of their neighbors, but aliens with a nation of their own. If their national seat shines with pres-

tige in the world, their position anywhere will be bettered. And if in Palestine there develops a Jewish culture virile and fecund, their own position as Jews living a Jewish life in Poland, in Rumania, in Germany can only be enhanced.

"But with me"—it is the American Jew still thinking to himself—"all this is otherwise. I came to this country while it was still in the making. Every one who is here (with the exception of the disappearing and negligible Indian) came, like me, from some foreign land and with some foreign culture. And every one, like me again, is expected to give up this past: to join in the creating of an American world. If I do my share in the creating of America, the America that is to be *will be mine*. My allegiance must be here, since my chance is here. Palestine is really not my affair. The more successful it became, the more trouble it would give me; the more dubious it would render my position in the potential cultural American world. I should simply have to make my choice, even as the immigrant Italian or Englishman or Irishman has made his choice. And that choice would be painful; for after all, the problem is not *quite* the same. There *is* a spiritual element in this ticklish business of being a Jew, which I should hate to have to deny. If Judaism remains vague (as it is now), if it can only be kept a matter of rhetoric, of exhortation, of going to synagogue, of words and indeterminate feelings, everything will be all right. I can then continue to be both an American and a Jew. The program of the Zionists also need not cause me too much concern, if it remains in the nebulous state of romantic aspiration. But if the homeland becomes a fact; if a people of dignity and force raises up its voice from the shores of the Jordan, there is going to be trouble. I shall have to make my choice, then: and a precise, clear-headed choice—demanding, as it would, an exact self-statement of what I am and of what it means to be an American Jew—is just what I want to avoid. . . . So, when I'm bothered, I'll give a little to the Zionists: just enough to ease my Jewish conscience (whatever that is) and to leave me in the vague warm waters of my American comfort."

I am convinced that a dilemma of this sort lurks inarticulate and stubborn in the hinterland of the American Jewish mind. I am convinced that this doubt, rather than any essential indolence or indifference or antagonism, explains the sluggish action of American Jews in the Zionist movement.

SUCH a dilemma should be respected. The Jew who feels it does not deserve to be called names. He deserves to be *helped*. He deserves to have cleared up for him the meaning of the terms—Jewish and American—which are a confusion within him. And the fact is that in the torrents of exhortation, American and Jewish, which our "leaders," lay or religious, pour into our ears each day, there is no such help, no such clarification. The fact is that there is pathetically little awareness even that this definition and clearing-up of *terms* is needed before men can begin to feel and to think like respectable human beings.

The American Jew's conviction that his case is different from that of his relatives in Eastern Europe is founded on the truth. France, Germany, England, Galicia, Russia, Lithuania, Rumania, etc., have definite meanings which America as yet has not. These countries are decided organisms; their potential and embryonic periods to a great degree are passed. It is, to an extent, true that the Jew who makes such lands his home has more or less to take them or to leave them. It is, to an extent, true that this is what the Jew has done. But America is so many things that it is as yet literally nothing. There has been no time for the setting and crystallization of its forces: no consensus of ideal and life has worked within our land so long as definitely to stamp it. Possibly the germ of a cultural America exists: yet even if this is so, the voluminous words and special pleadings of multitudes of "interests" have prevented any common knowledge of what that germ is, have estopped any common action upon such knowledge.

THE American Jew must find out what his concept of America is. He is entitled to his own concept. He is entitled to do what he can to "put it over." The one basic dogma of American life is that this is a country of freedom and that it shall evermore belong to the men and women who collaborate in the making of it. The Jew, if his Judaism is more than an empty word, will probably conceive of America as a nation which has room, organically and functionally, for him. Let him work to realize that dream: in the degree that he succeeds, he will be a good American, and a good Jew to boot. Yet the fact is, all too plainly, that this is what the American Jew has not done in the least. He has developed no philosophy of his own, of American life. He has unconsciously accepted a popular philosophy which has no regard for or interest in the Jew; which has, at best, a mere passive toleration for him.

The "melting-pot" ideal is at present in disfavor. Yet, implicitly, it is at work. The "Reform" Jew who would emasculate Judaism to some vague code of traditional ethics may not know it, but he accepts this ideal. And so does the Jew to whom Jewishness is a mere matter of *clique* or of clan. "100 per cent. Americanism" is an ideal of the melting-pot, in which a specified group of Americans with Colonial antecedents elect themselves as the melters. Blindly, all conformism, all assimilation to "American life" follows this unintelligent ideal. What it really means is that we in America are confronted with a certain set of immediate economic conditions which we glorify by calling "American life." To the extent that we submit to them we are 100 per cent. American. In other words, America is to be, in its entirety, the product of its immediate economic conditions. Nothing else is valid. To accept these conditions

is to be American: to think beyond them or strive to live beyond them is treason.

If the American Jew, however unavowedly, accepts this kind of Americanism, the dream of a cultural homeland in Zion cannot intimately concern him. He may be interested in a university on Mount Scopus, even as he might be in a university on the hill of the Sorbonne. His allegiance must march, unconditionally, with the blind pressure of those leveling industrial forces that are the America of to-day. But in this case, he must—if he is logical—give up not alone his *Zionism*, but his *Judaism* also. Let him be honest, and he will realize that Judaism, as anything but sentimental bric-a-brac, is out of place in such an American picture.

Blind economic forces *may* create an American race for the American nation. But in such a race there can be no ideological differentiations. Its individuals may, for reasons of identification, call themselves Methodists or Jews or Catholics, or Italo-Americans or Negroes, or Southerners or Californians. It will all be supremely unimportant. They will have merged into the homogeneous mass whose real god is material production and whose real temple is the skyscraper.

I have written a book* in which I have sedulously labored to show that this kind of America is contrary to the most fundamental traditions and ideals of the founders of our nation: and that it will not work, cannot work, without disaster to the human beings living in America and to the world at large. That book is itself a strictly essentialized summary of the facts that enter into the problem. I cannot be expected here, in this brief space, to restate its premises and conclusions. I must confine myself to saying that there is an alternative ideal to that of the blind, leveling rationalization of industrial expansion: the ideal, both traditional and potential, of America as a symphonic nation. Such an America would consist of individuals and of individual groups of all kinds, economic, functional, ethnic, ideological; and these groups, being possessed of the common *key* of the American ideal, would contrapuntally create an American nation. The more richly each lived its essential life, the more widely and wondrously it evolved its individuation, the more it would help to realize the common cause of America as a universal commune.

In such an America the Jew *as a Jew* would of course have his place. And if the development of a virile, cultural life in Palestine nourished his Jewishness and enhanced it, he as an American Jew could foster that enterprise, could actively espouse it. And insofar as Palestine enriched him he could rest content that he was furthering his purposive rôle as citizen and builder in the American nation.

THE old nationalism, conceiving of a country as a homogeneous beehive or ant-hill in which no differentiation of dogma or culture is allowed, is, in my judgment, doomed. It is my guess that the nation of the future will have to be symphonic, in somewhat the way I have endeavored to suggest. The old nations of Europe, although already crystallized along archaic lines, will gradually be transformed—or shattered. Russia, to the extent that it opposes Zionism in its citizens, proves that it has not yet shaken itself free—despite its communist faith—of this out-moded nationalistic form. America, insofar as it "thinks" to-day, is altogether given over to this rigid, degenerate nationalism: and I have no doubt that in large measure the Zionists themselves are addicted to it. But it is doomed: and if America goes this old national way, whatever its prosperity for a brief century or so, it is doomed also. In such an America—an America of homogeneous "raciality"— the Jew would find no place. Soon he would have to disappear as he did under the similar nationalism of Spain; or he would have to withdraw into an internecine sectionalism and occultism of his own, as he has done in the old "nations" of Europe.

But America is still fluid; still capturable by true intelligence. To the building of America as a symphonic nation the Jewish group can contribute by developing its own cultural life, by actively fitting its timeless ideals into the forms of the working world in which it lives. If the American Jew does this, he will find that he is harmonizing wondrously with the sole valid American tradition—that of the Puritan fathers, of Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman.

And if he elects to become a creative American by becoming a creative human being, he will find that the great ideal of a cultural center in Palestine in no way conflicts with his *Americanism;* since such a center of knowledge and vision, intimately in touch with the deepest parts of his own nature, is bound to heighten his powers to live here creatively as a Jew. I believe that some such attitude as this, toward America, toward Judaism and toward Zionism, can alone solve the dilemma of the American Jew.

MERELY to admit that the Jews are in a pitiable plight does no good. At best it leads to philanthropy, which, however praiseworthy it may be in individual cases, is to be censured from a higher point of view, because notwithstanding its oft-proved futility it salves the conscience of those who are conjointly responsible. It is easy to say: "Well, well, we do what we can!" There are some people who pat themselves on the back if after having read in the morning paper of a brutal Jewish massacre they send a paltry contribution to the newspaper for acknowledgment. But even those who tax themselves in proportion to their fortunes cannot fulfill their duty with money alone. How can alms relieve the fear of those who, though not themselves the victims of assault, continue to live in the selfsame circumstances?

From Herzl's Sixth Congress Address.

* *The Re-discovery of America, Scribner's, New York.*

The Jewish Agency

Its Practical Application to Jewish Communal Life

By MILFORD STERN

In this article Mr. Milford Stern, a leading member of the Jewish community of Detroit, suggests that when the Jewish Agency is extended it may become an organ of Jewish public opinion which would find its counterpart in subdivisions in every city in the United States.

IT took twenty-five years of thought centering about Palestine to bring Jewry to its present approach toward unity, a quarter of a century marked by theorizing, discordant controversy and clash of principle — before there was any sign of an emergent harmony.

The seeds of a united Israel were planted the day when Theodor Herzl conceived his idea of a restored Palestine. He predicted the unification of Jewry in behalf of the Holy Land. Although the prophecy fell on heedless ears, those seeds germinated through the years of contention and acrimonious debate, and budded forth with pregnant promise under the stimulus of the World War. A dream was in process of becoming a reality. History moved with the inevitability of fate. The English conquest of the Turks, the Balfour Declaration, its approval by the great powers, the Mandate of the League — all these constitute biological steps in the rebirth of Zion. The romance and beauty, the potentiality and implication that lie in the idea of a restored Palestine became increasingly manifest; and now there is a focusing of forces, within and without Israel, for their realization. World Jewry, except for a glorious remnant, was rather slow to recognize the growing vision but latterly it began to perceive it, and an Israel united for the rehabilitation of Palestine is in actual prospect.

There is something pathetically human about the impatience displayed by some Zionists over the fact that their new allies have not vociferously come to the front since the Marshall-Weizmann accord has been reached. Criticism more or less unjust was leveled against the 31st Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in San Francisco, where, as a matter of fact, the agenda followed lines distinctly apart from the new Agency and its implications. After all the accord has merely the status of a pact, a promise, an agreement that has yet to be ratified by Zionist and non Zionist organizations throughout the Diaspor before the new Agency can begin to functio Upon its ratification the delegates will convene as council of the enlarged Agency and draft a constitu tion. Not until and unless the World Zionist Congre affirms the preliminaries and ratifies the new Agenc will it become an operative entity. Let us recall i purpose and function as fashioned by the Manda of the League of Nations to Great Britain. It designed to include the various groups of worl Jewry, and is to have authority to co-operate with th Mandatory Power in the solution of economic ar social problems affecting Palestine. The inception the new Agency will constitute but the initial ste in the unification of Israel for Palestine. It took yea to evolve a *modus operandi* for inaugurating the ne Agency; it is bound to take some time actually create the Agency. Why expect non-Zionists ove night to become militant chauvinists in the caus The transition from a pact to a reality is a slow pr cess.



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Once the Council of the Jewish Agency and th Executive Committee, in whose hands jointly th destinies of the enlarged Jewish Agency will be place begin to function, they will find before them a ta requiring their best judgment. The problem is th how shall the Agency win ar secure the support and backi of a united Jewry? How can assure the reaching of its obje tive: the rebuilding of Pale tine? The answer clearly ind cated is an all-Jewish *reorganiza tion*. It is my purpose here suggest, rather diffidently, method of reorganization, ar to point out some aspects of th practical application of t Jewish Agency to commun Jewish life.

Jewry the world over nee to be co-ordinated anew f Palestine. All groups, all co onies and settlements, all urb centers of Jewish populati must be mobilized into a so of super-entity, a Catho Israel, comprising hundre perhaps thousands of loc units, each of them holding clearly defined but subordin

relationship toward the new Jewish Agency now in process of consummation. What was done last October in New York by the conference led by Marshall and Weizmann must be duplicated in every Jewish community throughout the world. Wherever a considerable number of Jews live together there must be a realignment, a reassembling of forces, perhaps a new leadership.

In my own community of Detroit, for example, it would mean that our people must proceed to form a new organization which shall include all who are willing to work for or contribute to the cause of Palestine. Whether they be Zionists or non-Zionists is immaterial. Such a Detroit local would constitute the functioning, dynamic, militant unit charged with the responsibility of providing the wherewithal to build Palestine. Not merely money but—and primarily—the spirit of enthusiasm, the cultural appreciation and support, with fund-raising as a secondary though important and indispensable requisite.

My suggestion further contemplates that each local unit give a fifty per cent. representation on its governing board to the Mizrachi, Hadassah, the Keren Hayesod, the National Fund, the Hebrew University and other Zionist bodies, and, on the other hand, a similar fifty per cent. representation to those of our people who have hitherto been classified as non-Zionists. In short, it should be patterned after the Marshall-Weizmann plan for the extended Jewish Agency. This may seem straining after an elaborate piece of machinery; but ultimately some such plan must be evolved.

No doubt it will prove difficult in some communities to effect such a reorganization, due to possible fears and misunderstandings, and to the obstinacy of the irreconcilables. There will be the usual crop of dissenters, scoffers and cynics. Their strident voices will be heard saying: "It's only a gesture, like the Kellog Treaty—much ado about nothing." Even if the pact is a gesture, however, it is one produced as a conditioned response to a tremendous environmental pressure; and as such it is irresistible, inviting and leading to action. But it is more than a gesture. It is a solemn pledge, a sacred promise. All opposition must eventually be overridden, all obstacles overcome, if we hope to make the work of the new Jewish Agency a success; more specifically, if we propose to create the cultural background and evoke the incentive, devotion and enthusiasm required to insure raising the monies that must be forthcoming in order to build up the Holy Land.

Logically, local leaders, inspired by the magic force which moved Weizmann and Marshall, must follow the example they set. Considerations and motives that proved so potent in New York should have the same potency in Peoria and Pueblo. The miracle we witnessed in New York should find repetition a thousand times over in the Jewish communities of the world; for transcendent forces of creative history are at work.

The influences of the new Agency in our communal life will ramify widely. It will prove to be a solvent, in time, for the differing views and philosophies of Zionist and non-Zionist, and will remove forever the irritating bone of contention between them.

One of the by-products will be the establishment of a new basis of mutual confidence and trust between the various elements that constitute our social structure; better understanding, sympathetic interest, mutual appreciation and respect will follow. Another inevitable by-product is a constant, insistent process of education and self-education, which alone can bring about the proper recognition of the responsibility involved in the Jewish Agency. Such a consummation will mean not only a great deal to Palestine and the colonization work there, but even more to the Jews of the Diaspora. It is of course difficult to forsee all the influence which the new accord is bound to exert in every community.

THE application of the Agency idea to our communal life will probably bring with it one result that is sure to win popular approval—that is, the elimination of separate campaigns. Each Jewish community can proceed to join its Agency drive with whatever annual Fund or Chest campaign it may have. For then there will no longer be a line of demarcation in the community to separate it into antagonist groups, as has been the case too often in the past. The drive for Palestine will take its rightful place as a major objective for the whole community. There will be no more disgraceful disputes as to whether relief shall come before Palestine or Palestine before relief.

All elements in each community will work with equal zeal for every approved objective. In the new order of things the United Palestine Appeal has no place, certainly not as a money-raising agency. In all probability it will go into discard.

We Jews have a feeling that this splendid adventure in Palestine must succeed. Despite the severest handicaps what amounts to almost miraculous progress has been made in Palestinian reconstruction. We must not fail, for if we did it would constitute a defeat from which we could scarcely recover; perhaps never again might we have the hope and aspiration that has upheld our people for the past two thousand years. We must nor fail, for the reputation of world Jewry is at stake; and humanity needs the very thing for which we are striving. Success in Palestine is now an affair of honor for us. Besides, to take up a very practical consideration, we who are fortunately situated owe something to our persecuted and impoverished brethren who seek a harbor and refuge in Palestine.

It has been said that enthusiasm is the fever of reason. But let us not be afraid of enthusiasm; we need it and we can effect nothing without its invigorating quality.

American Approval of Zionism

The Governmental Attitude from President Harrison to Hoover

By ELIHU D. STONE

Referring to a memorial presented to President Harrison in 1891, which urged America to use its influence to secure Palestine for the Jews, Mr. Stone describes the attitude which the American government has consistently held towards the re-establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. Mr. Stone, Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, was greatly influential in securing the passage of the Lodge-Fish resolution of 1922.

THOUGH the United States has been probably the only power which has not had a direct interest in Palestine and the Near East during the past four decades, nevertheless it has been one of the governments most actively favorable to the establishment of the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. The climax of this friendly interest in the Jewish claim to Palestine was reached in 1922 when both Houses of Congress unanimously passed the Lodge-Fish resolution approving the terms of the Mandate under which Palestine was awarded to Great Britain.

Knowing the influence which the United States commanded, despite its policy of isolation in the early part of this century, Herzl had hopes of meeting President Roosevelt through Gottheil. Through this channel Herzl expected to bring pressure to bear on Sultan Abdul Hamid. Herzl would have been greatly encouraged, however, and would perhaps even have come to this country for active support if he had known of a memorial which was presented to President Benjamin Harrison on March 5, 1891.

William E. Blackstone, a Christian still living to-day on the Pacific Coast, was greatly disturbed by the Jewish situation in Russia, and through the publication, "Our Day," launched a campaign to secure America's intervention which would ultimately result in the granting of Palestine to the Jews. The memorial which was presented to President Harrison is of unusual significance because of the eminent names attached to it, which included both Jews and Christians. Among the latter were Victor Lawson of the Chicago *Daily News*, Dewitt C. Cregier, Mayor of Chicago, George Jones of the New York *Times*, Hugh J. Grant, Mayor of New York, Edwin H. Fitler, Mayor of Philadelphia, T. B. Reed, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, and Robert R. Hitt, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.



ELIHU D. STONE

The memorial prepared by Blackstone is also interesting because it reflects the early attitude toward Zionism in America. Describing the situation of Russian Jews and a visit to Palestine in 1889, Blackstone wrote: "That while a very few of what are termed ultra radical, reformed Jewish Rabbis have renounced their belief in ancient Scriptures, and openly proclaim that the Jews should amalgamate with the various nations, wherein they are scattered, the great body of the Jews, both clergy and laity, still cling to their time honored hopes of national restoration and will quickly respond to any such opportunity with abundant energy, means and enthusiasm.

"That the land of Palestine is capable of remarkable development, both agriculturally and commercially; that while the Turkish government has lately shown some improvement, still it is marvelously behind the times in which we live, and no great development can be expected under it."

There is no evidence to indicate whether President Harrison replied to the memorial, but that interest in it was widespread is evident from the range of names appended to it. Almost four decades have passed since then, and the American government's attitude has become increasingly friendly, ending with the recent declaration made by President Hoover in which he not only expressed his deep interest in the future of Palestine but expressed the belief that the Jewish Homeland offers remarkable opportunities for the development of Jewish creative powers.

The records of Presidents' state papers show that every President from Roosevelt to Hoover was favorably inclined to the Jewish resettlement of Palestine. And it was Wilson who gave tremendous impetus to the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. President Harding and President Coolidge both issued statements on various occasions expressing their sympathy with the effort to rebuild Palestine as the Jewish National Homeland. Only when one ponders on the international complications attendant upon Palestine's position, and only when one realizes how many nations groups have interests in that land, can one appreciate the import of the consistently friendly attitude which the United States Government has expressed.

Penetrating the Communities

The Rebuilding of Palestine as an Educational Force

By JUDGE WILLIAM M. LEWIS

It is the contention of the author of this article that the extended Jewish Agency will inevitably advance Zionist interests in this country. Judge Lewis bases his conclusions on his experience with the United Palestine Appeal, of which he has been National Chairman for the past three years.

IN RECENT years the comment has often been made that fund-raising for Palestine has impeded the progress of Zionist propaganda. Again and again it is reiterated that the period of intensive campaigning which has been in progress for the last eight years must give way to an era of cultural activity in which the Zionist ideal will again receive the emphasis which had been placed upon it before work in Palestine on a large scale was begun.

Actually such criticism does not take into account the results that are everywhere evident due to the fund-raising activities which have honeycombed the land. It is not too much to say that an important, if not the most important factor in preparing American Jewry for the extension of the Jewish Agency was the sphere of influence created by the Keren Hayesod, and later by the United Palestine Appeal.

The aim of the London Conference of 1920 in establishing the Keren Hayesod was to create a fund-raising machinery which would have an appeal for all elements of the Jewish community, non-Zionist as well as Zionist. Doubts have been expressed whether in this country the Keren Hayesod succeeded in securing the interest of the former group. But it is everywhere evident that even if the Keren Hayesod and the United Palestine Appeal did not obtain the substantial co-operation of the non-Zionists they did provide a period of Zionist propaganda which but now finds its reward in the eagerness with which the non-Zionist groups throughout the country stand ready to enter into a union of forces for the rebuilding of Palestine.

The Zionist Organization of America tried to follow the lead of the World Zionist Organization by giving a non-partisan character to the Keren Hayesod and then to the United Palestine Appeal. The Zionist Organization of America, though responsible for the success or failure of such money-raising efforts, nevertheless turned the fund-raising machinery over to another group of men with the aim of securing as wide an approval of and interest in its purposes as possible. But despite the fact that the United PalestineAppeal has been regarded as an impersonal collection agency, it has nevertheless been a Zionist propagandizing agency of the most effective kind.



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The picture of the United Palestine Appeal as an indifferent, impartial, cold collection machine is therefore a fiction. It has been a very helpful Zionist propagandist agency—which is demonstrated by the fact that thousands of Jews have come within the influence of Palestine as a result of its endeavors. Because of its general character as a body separate from the Zionist Organization it has been successful in making contacts with non-Zionist groups.

This fact is of extreme importance in a consideration of what may be accomplished as a result of the extension of the Jewish Agency. There are some Zionists who have expressed the fear that the collection machinery of a joint Zionist and non-Zionist union would not be able to emphasize the Zionist ideal involved in the rebuilding of the Jewish Homeland. This fear is groundless, as experience under the United Palestine Appeal has proved. No agency working for the reconstruction of Palestine can evade emphasis on the very fundament of rebuilding activity.

The building of the Jewish National Homeland is a process. Every effort, every act which accelerates that progress brings the Jewish National Home that much nearer realization. One cannot associate oneself with any part of the entire project without being responsible for the steady growth of the land. As to what will ultimately happen in Palestine, as to what the structure of the Jewish Home will be, is a prophecy which no Zionist in the Diaspora can make. It is therefore idle to contend that non-Zionist influence will hamper the development of the *Yishuv.*

The foregoing does not mean that the Zionist Organization has not a very definite and specific task in the Diaspora. As exponents of cultural Zionism we must still strive to inculcate Jewish life in America with that spirit which seeks enrichment through a Jewish National Home. As advocates of political Zionism it is still our task to convert the Jewish community at large to those nationalist aims which have guided the Zionist movement during the past three decades.

The Jews of America

Twenty-Five Years of Jewish History in the United States

By PETER WIERNIK

In the twenty-five years that have passed since the death of Theodor Herzl many changes have taken place in American Jewish life. The current of events has flowed into that confluence of forces which is marked by the union of Zionists and non-Zionists for the rebuilding of Palestine. Looking at the panorama of Jewish life in this country, the author of this article has analyzed and described some of the most important occurrences of the past quarter century. Mr. Wiernik is undoubtedly the foremost historian of the American Jewish scene. His book on "The Jew in American History" is still the authoritative volume on the subject. Mr. Wiernik is Editor-in-Chief of the Jewish Morning Journal."

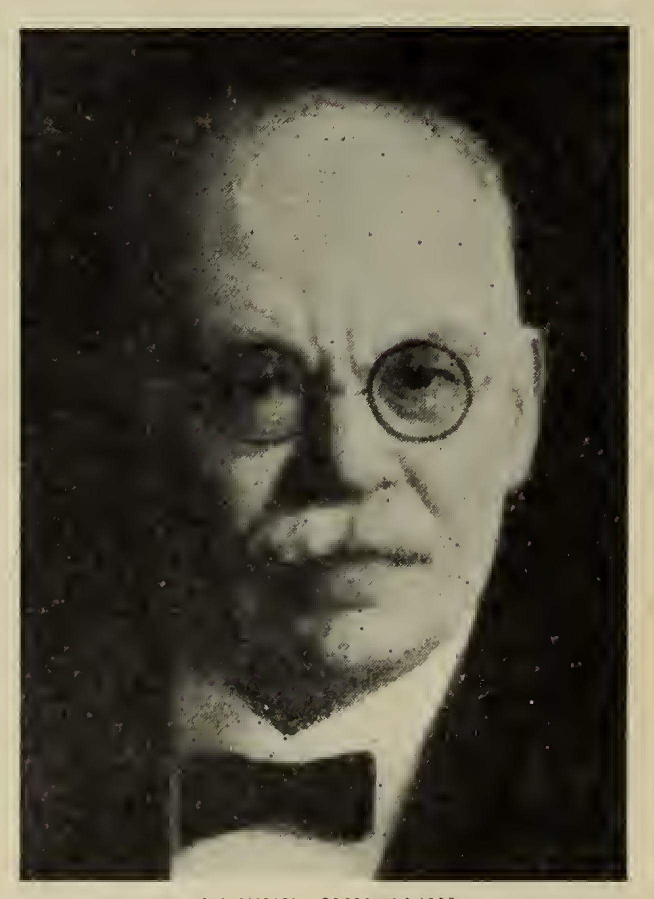
THE two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in North America was celebrated on Thanksgiving Day, November 30, 1905, more than a year too late. The correct date was in September, 1904, less than two months after the death of the founder of Political Zionism, the venerated leader to whose memory, a quarter of a century after his death, this volume is dedicated. The period under review is thus the eleventh quarter century in our history on this continent, which coincides with the post-Herzlian period in the history of the Zionist movement and in Jewish history in general.

The great process of the adjustment of an ever increasing mass of Jews to conditions in the New World, conditions which in themselves were continually changing, was going on at an accelerating pace. The first period of Jewish immigration began, in September, 1654, with friction; Governor Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam did not want to have Jewish immigrants in the Dutch colony, not even on the conditions of a stringent quota. The third period, which —at the point from which we start, 1904, had still a full decade to run—began with what was practically a public welcome to the refugees from the land of pogroms, given in that same New York, the former New Amsterdam, in 1882. And fifteen years after the close of the third period, while I am writing this article, Herbert H. Lehman is Acting-Governor of the State of New York, a truly Empire State containing more Jews than there were in the entire world in Governor Stuyvesant's time. Jewish history is wonderful when viewed in the proper perspective!

When this story of adjustment will have been rightly understood and evaluated o history in America, and anywhere else, will be easi to comprehend; perhaps even the miracle of our su vival will come nearer to being "scientifically explained than heretofore.

A stable equilibrium or an adjustment which rigid, says the Philosopher of Evolution, means deat In life the organism is in an unstable equilibrium, t limbs are flexible at the joints, and there is a co tinuous readjustment of the parts to each other a of the whole to its surroundings. When the earlie beginnings of Jewish history in various countri will be studied as they should be, it will be found th our ability to achieve, after the lapse of a prelimina period of preparation, an equilibrium which is n perfectly stable is one of the reasons for our preserv tion under unfavorable circumstances. And that stu will also demonstrate that which is now little know and which has never received the attention that deserves—that the outlook for Jews who first sett in a country always seems hopeless. The first imp is nearly fatal to the original settlers, whether t reception is friendly or otherwise; the primiti adjustment is too rigid, and quick assimilation or complete absorption which hardly leaves a trace the unavoidable result.

The effort to reach an unstable equilibrium whi permits and helps the contin tion of Jewish life begins as reaction against the disastr effects of the first encount and its process is a return Judaism. It is the same wi the tiny community whe many are absorbed or cross ov the line before the first *Che Kadisha* is organized and befo a *minyan* for the High Holida is arranged. And it is not mu different, in principle, with t Jewries which have later sumed immense proportio Neither does it matter wh fo he adjustment itself ul ma kes—whether it is t "close ustment" of C Po here the Jews a separated from the gene population language, dr and modes o or the "op adjustment" ld Spain a of the pres n countr



PETER WIERNIK

a process which withstands the severest strain of an experiment with four millions of us in these United States.

This process of adjustment is almost all that there is to the history of the Jews in a certain country—i.e., all that deserves special treatment, outside of the world-wide manifestations which constitute general Jewish history. Everything which transpires may be interpreted in its terms. And it is in this light that a period like the last twenty-five years in American Jewish history, of which the end is so very much unlike the beginning, may still be viewed as a whole.

II

A MILLION Jews from Eastern Europe were still to come to our then hospitable shores, before the stoppage of all immigration during the World War and its resumption on a smaller scale which was to be further restricted by quota laws and edicts on national origins. In the previous or "German" period, which lasted from about 1820 to 1881, a great historical mission was fulfilled in preparing the ground for the much larger influx which began after the Ignatiev Pogroms in 1881–82. The hundreds of thousands who came in those sixty years did for the millions who were to follow what was done for themselves by the scant hundreds of Spaniards who filtered in between 1654 and 1820. The number of the Spanish Jews was small. But—being orthodox Sephardim who adhered tenaciously to their religious traditions—they built the foundations of Jewish community life and solidarity on the new continent. Were it not for this unconscious—one feels like saying providential—preparation, each stratum of earlier Jewish immigration adjusting itself to make easier the adjustment of those who were to follow, the greatest transmigration of Jews since the Exodu[illegible] [illegible]uld have been an impossibility.

The largest pa[illegible] the earlier arrivals in that period were alread[illegible] in the middle of the first decade of the p[illegible]sent century. Many of them were assisting relat[illegible] and friends to come over, and practically every o[illegible] them was remitting funds abroad to parents, to [illegible] and children, or to other members of the family. Important inner ad[illegible] work of organization and solidificatio[illegible] on in various ways in the different [illegible]merican Jewry. But the immigrant was sti[illegible]at problem which overshadowed all other p[illegible]ms, and there was none in which the Jews as a [illegible]arate group were so vitally interested. The voice o[illegible]e "restrictionist" was becoming more audible in th[illegible]tional legislative halls, and immigration bills wit[illegible]estrictive clauses which were quite severe for th[illegible]mes passed both houses of Congress, to be vet[illegible]one time (1912) by President Taft, and late[illegible]) by President Wilson, as a similar measure [illegible]n prevented, by a veto of Grover Cleveland ([illegible]rom becoming a la[illegible] proposed rest[illegible] of immigration w[illegible] of course, directed [illegible]st the Jew exclusi[illegible]y. But the protest o[illegible] Jewry was heard much more frequently than that of the other nations which would be affected. For the Jew had more to lose, it was harder for him than for others to remain where he was, and his brethren here bore the brunt of the anti-restriction struggle, although the Jew had rarely exceeded 10 per cent. of the general immigration. The Hias (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), which deserves well of the Jews because of its resistance to severe interpretation of the immigration laws as well as because of other forms of help to the new arrivals, became one of our most popular institutions. And the American Jewish Committee, organized in 1909 with the late Judge Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia as President (succeeded after his death in 1923 by Mr. Louis Marshall), was always at the forefront among the active advocates of liberalism in immigration laws, while the assistance of representatives of other migrating nationalities was mainly of a perfunctory character.

JACOB H. SCHIFF

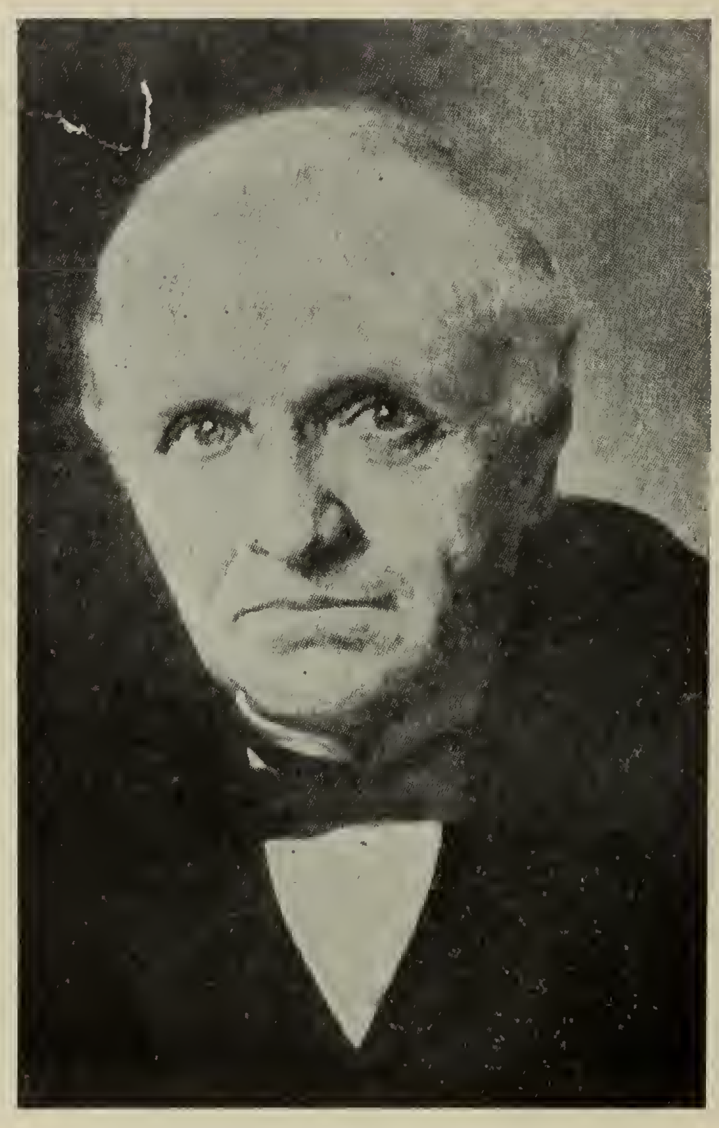
It may be remarked, incidentally, that this struggle was much more of a nationalistic than of a sectarian or religious nature; and it contributed to inculcate the idea of nationalism in circles where it had never before been entertained. The preponderance of Jews from countries where they were officially considered and hated as a separate nationality was bound to lead to

a moc[illegible] the "assimilator's" attitude towards Jewish [illegible]ism.

There [illegible]so continuous activity on the part of the represen[illegible]ve Jewish bodies, headed by the most prominent of our race, against illiberal laws and practices at home and for the protection of Jewish sufferers from persecution and massacres abroad. Severe Sunday laws, kosher bills, antishechita proposals, the introduction of Bible reading in the public schools, discrimination against Jewish guests in snobbishly exclusive hotels and the caricaturing of the Jews on the stage or their defamation in the public press—these received attention, but could never enlist the widespread sympathy given to victims of restriction at the portals of this Land of Promise. The historical necessity now was not, as formerly, to prepare for a new and greater period of immigration, but to prolong the present period of accretion and absorption for the longest possible time.

The great American public opinion as expressed in the press as well as in official and legislative circles continued on the whole to be friendly. When American Jewry took the first steps to provide organized assistance for the surviving victims of the Kishineff pogrom (in the spring of 1903), and later, on a much larger scale, to help the sufferers from the extensive riots which followed the proclamation of the still-born Russian Constitution in the fall of 1905, the Relief Committees had the sympathy of the entire nation. And it was not purely an accident that the late Mr. Oscar S. Straus, the chairman of the second and larger committee which was the first to raise a large sum easily, was the first Jew to obtain a cabinet position in the American Government (1906)*. Few men understood public opinion as thoroughly as Theodore Roosevelt, and it was during the time of his presidency that the value of superior communal service among the Jews began to be nationally significant.

The frequently expressed sympathy with those who suffered from Russian brutality and injustice contributed to the friendly attitude towards Japan in her struggle with Russia in 1904–5. And the memory of the first great Jewish philanthropist which this country produced, the late Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, should be cherished as much, or rather more, for his anti-Russian activities as Japan's banker in the United States at that time, than for all his donations for purposes of benevolence. In this instance also the Government and the press were sympathetic; the nation unofficially sided with Japan, and those who left Russia to escape military service in the Far East were admitted here as freely as a generous interpretation of the mild immigration laws of the period permitted.



JUDGE MAYER SULZBERGER

What seem to us now—in face of the vast achievements of the last fifteen years—almost like miniature performances, were at that time of considerable importance. And men of vision did not fail to perceive at that early juncture the coming so-called "hegemony" of American Jewry. The unprecedented relief work—perhaps also the gradual spreading of the B'nai Brith and the increasingly prominent participation of delegates from America in the Zionist Congresses,—made the Jewries of the Old World aware of a new rising Jewish force which had been hitherto practically unknown.

There was also something less obvious but much more effective that anticipated the dependence on America which even great nations are now willing to admit. Hundreds of small towns in Lithuania, Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe were all but dependent on their emigrants in the United States. "Only America can help" was the slogan of the little Jewish town in the Slavic world two or three decades before it began to be heard in the chancelries and the metropoles of Europe. We are the pioneers or the precocious children of the world in more than one sense.

Variegated activities in the field of culture were going on in the decade 1904–14, among which the completion of the monumental *Jewish Encyclopedia* and the establishment of the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, were perhaps the most noteworthy. The decisive stand which was taken by representative American Jews under the influence of

* The elevation of Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, at that time (1914) the acknowledged leader of the Zionists in America, to a seat in the United States Supreme Court, may likewise be mentioned as an instance of recognition of high-class service among Jews, added to the personal merits and the undoubted qualifications of both men for the offices to which they were respectively appointed.

Zionism in the controversy about the continuance of Hebrew as the predominating language in the Haifa *Technicum* (1914–15) was a demonstration of the new power which was soon to be all-persuasive in Jewish affairs the world over.

But while charity, education and more or less perfunctory religious work constituted the principal activities of the Americanized Jews, who were thus in the happy position of having little or no history, the mass of later arrivals, now amounting to millions, were stirred by tendencies which were unknown to the former. Radical political and economic movements, though secular in their nature, were so much confined to these circles, in which they assumed peculiar characteristics, that they must be taken into account as Jewish. The culture which finds its expression in Yiddish, through a press, a theatre, and a platform, was assuming proportions unknown anywhere else in the Diaspora. The nationalist movement began to break through its circumscribed boundaries, and Orthodoxy, which seemed dormant in the presence of noisy and worldly movements, but was gathering force in its own way, has now gained sufficient strength to think of facilitating its adjustment to the new conditions through the establishment of "Parochial Schools." This awakened Orthodoxy, which is in touch with Zionism by aid of the Mizrachi movement, has contributed to bring about the "swing to the right" which is noticeable even in the ranks of American Reform Judaism.



OSCAR S. STRAUS

III

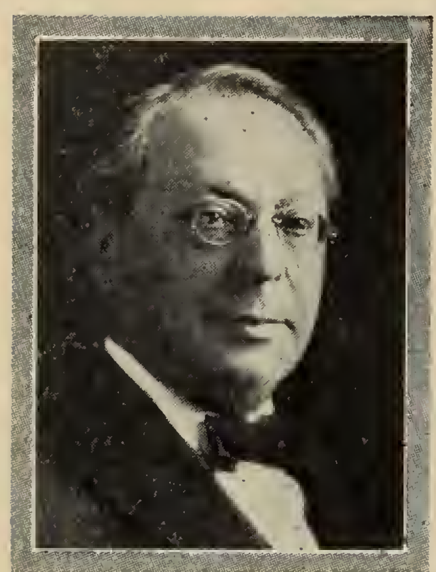
ANOTHER quarter of a century, if not a longer period, will probably have to elapse before we can see the pre-War period in the correct perspective. At present whatever occurred prior to July, 1914, fades into insignificance, or seems too remote to have influenced present conditions. But American Jewry was prepared by such incidents as the Rumanian Note of 1902, the Kishineff Petition of 1903, the events leading to the breaking up of the treaty with Russia (1911) and the oversea relief activities in their manifold ramifications—all originating in, and in their turn generating, a rising sense of responsibility for the welfare and the safety of the Jews in other parts of the world; and it rose to the momentous occasion with a vigor and a spirit of sacrifice which will forever remain memorable.

The shot which was fired at Sarejevo in June, 1914, and which precipitated the World War, ended, among other things, the third period of Jewish immigration in America. In the new period immigration is no more an effective remedy for the afflicted Jews in the war-stricken countries. Neither is it a serious problem for us here. Jewish immigration has sunk numerically and proportionally; the last great year was 1921, when one hundred and eighteen thousand (over twenty-one per cent. of the total) Jews arrived here. In 1922 fifty-two thousand arrived, but the proportion was unprecedented, being forty-seven per cent. or nearly one-half of the entire immigration. Nearly one hundred thousand came in the following two years, with an average percentage of below ten. Since the restrictive Quota Law of 1924 went into effect, hardly ten thousand Jews a year enter—and that is less, on an average, than five per cent. of the total immigration because the bulk now comes from the "Nordic" countries.

There may be a slight improvement if Congress does not again postpone, or entirely rescind, the application of the National Origins clause of the law of 1924, which recently was proclaimed by President Hoover; but if there be any improvement, which is not certain, it will amount to very little. There is no prospect of relaxation in the near future and we must meet the situation as it is, and understand that now our mission is to help the Jews where they are; to facilitate their adjustment to post-War conditions in the various countries; to help larger-scale settlements on land in Russia, where the Government is doing much to enable Jews to leave towns and become agriculturists. The help extended to artisans in the towns of Soviet Russia to establish themselves as semi-independent *Kustari;* the loan *kassas* through which both artisans and small merchants are helped in Poland and countries where the Jews are similarly situated; the cultural assistance to Jewish education in these countries and, lastly, the hope-inspiring upbuilding of Palestine—these now require the indispensable assistance of the Jews of the United States.

Our own well-being—aye, our material prosperity is the indefeasible condition on which our new mission, our predestined function of the new era of Jewish history can be fulfilled. And it is in this light that our participation in the War itself and in the unexampled material development which followed it must be viewed to understand our past and our duty at the present juncture in our history.

The War Relief work which was begun almost simultaneously with the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, about two and a half years before America entered the struggle against the Central Powers, signalized the commencement of the new period. The Orthodox or East European group was the first to organize, and the Central Relief Committee for the


Louis Marshall

Relief of Jewish War Sufferers was founded early in the fall of 1914. The American Jewish Relief Committee, representing the older and more affluent elements of the community, was organized several weeks later. A third organization, the People's Relief Committee, consisting of the representatives of the more radical elements, came into existence in 1915. The decision of the two older committees to act in unison, which was reached soon after the organization of the second and most important of them, would hardly deserve attention, were it not for the unexpected turn which the relief work took soon afterwards. An insignificant sub-committee, which was originally appointed (Nov. 24, 1914) for the sole purpose of turning over into the treasury of the American Jewish Relief Committee the funds which were collected by the Central Relief Committee, chose the treasurer of the former organization, Mr. Felix M. Warburg, as its chairman. How this small body (beginning with six members besides the chairman), which was several times enlarged, ultimately eclipsed its parent organizations, and as the now historic Joint Distribution Committee took over the entire oversea relief work and wrote what is probably the finest chapter in the history of Jewish benevolence—the explanation of how and why this happened belongs to the domain of sociology and may, some day, be elsewhere recounted. The work of the "Joint" is not yet ended; and it would perhaps be premature to delve into its origin before the *finis* of its gigantic labor is written.


Lt. Gov. Herbert H. Lehman

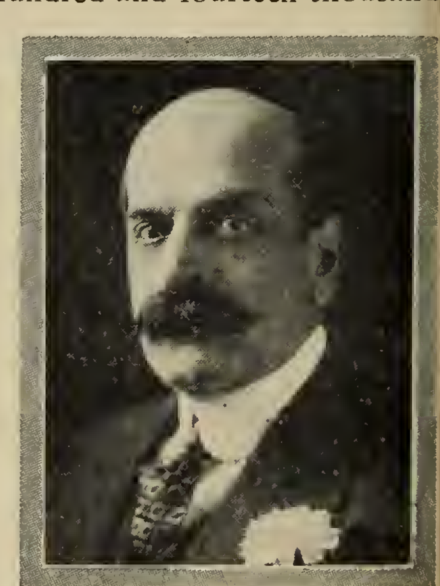
The organized work, with its tremendous capacity and extent, did not prevent many small groups and individuals from engaging in independent, scattered and not always effective or creditable relief enterprises. But the individual contributions, both to organized efforts and as direct remittances, were immense. The Jews of America have learned to give as they never gave before, and the broadening sense of responsibility which grew with the prosperity and the ascending standard of life rendered it more easy to gather funds for other national and even for local purposes. When the Balfour Declaration and the subsequent conquest of Palestine by the British forces made the establishment of a Jewish National Home in the Holy Land a practical enterprise, unprecedented contributions began to pour in to further the work of the Zionists.

IV

THERE was a distinct pro-German feeling among the Jews of the country in the first two years of the World War, before it became apparent that America would enter it on the side of the Allies, and before the success of the British expedition into Palestine gave rise to Jewish hopes which were ultimately realized by the Balfour Declaration.

These leanings towards the side of the Central Powers were not confined to any particular group or stratum of the Jewish community, and they originated in the conviction based on experience that Russia becomes liberal when it is defeated. Russia was defeated, although the Allies won, and it was also liberated, though only for a short time, thereby proving the correctness of the Jewish opinion of her. But when the scale was turned by America's entry into the War, every other consideration was subordinated, and the Jews did their duty, which in other words means that Jew and Gentile went through the stress and storm together, and learned to know and respect one another better than before.

The number of Jews who served in the Army and Navy of the United States in the World War was somewhat larger than our proportion to the general population, and so was also the number of those who distinguished themselves in the various parts of the service. An incomplete survey of the material for a large book on the subject which has not yet been published shows that about one hundred and fourteen thousand Jews served in the Army (nearly five thousand in the Medical Corps) and over thirteen thousand and five hundred in the Navy; that in the Army there were thirty-two colonels and lieutenant-colonels, three hundred and forty majors, one thousand two hundred captains and nearly five thousand lieutenants. About six hundred Jews were cited for bravery


Felix M. Warburg

and three received the Congressional Medal, the highest honor which can be awarded to a soldier. About three thousand five hundred fell or died of wounds which were received in battle, and nearly eight thousand were injured: a percentage higher than our proportion to the population.

The Jewish Welfare Board, which has remained as a permanent organization, did excellent work for the Jewish soldiers and sailors abroad and at home, and a considerable number of Jewish financiers and men of large affairs helped the Government as "dollar-a-year" men to conduct the business side of the struggle. Some of them—Bernard M. Baruch, who became chairman of the War Industries Board; Eugene Meyer, who was director of the War Finance Corporation; Col. Herbert H. Lehman, who in 1928 was elected Lieutenant Governor of New York—rendered service which was acknowledged to be of great value. Mr. Edward D. Lasker, who as chairman of the U. S. Shipping Board later assisted in the winding up of the war enterprises (1921–23), likewise deserves to be mentioned here. The share of the Jews in the marketing and the buying of the various issues of Liberty Bonds also forms a part of the creditable record.

This participation of Jews in the serious and self-sacrificing work of the War helped to continue friendly relations between the Government and representative Jews; and the official attitude at home and at the Peace Conferences abroad was more outspokenly favorable to the Jews than that of any other government which took part in the proceedings. At an earlier period (March, 1915) a thousand tons of food and supplies for the suffering Jews of Palestine were carried by the U. S. collier *Vulcan;* a year later the U. S. collier *Sterling* took matzoth and medicine for the Jews of the same country, and the great A. R. A. (American Relief Administration), under the guiding administrative genius of Herbert Hoover, collaborated with Jewish relief workers in several countries. Later (in 1919) President Wilson's proclamation for a "Jewish Day" for relief collection was another signal of official sympathy with American Jewish relief activities, and it became the fashion for the chief executives of states and chief magistrates of cities to give official encouragement to the work.

The ground was thus prepared, though not without some friction within the Jewish camp, for the American Jews to exert—through the American Government, and through the personality of President Wilson—a stronger influence on behalf of the Jewish inhabitants in other countries than would otherwise have been possible.

The late Dr. Max Heller, reviewing the year 5663 (in the American Jewish Year Book of the following year), stated as early as 1903 that the calling of a Jewish Congress in America was on the order of the day. But it was not until December 15, 1919, that the first Congress of that nature assembled in Philadelphia to express the intensified desire of the Jews of the last period of immigration to utilize the social and political influence of American Jewry on behalf of the Jews of the newly established and enlarged countries in Eastern Europe, to safeguard their rights as minorities.

The President of the American Jewish Committee, Louis Marshall, and the President of the Federation of American Zionists, Judge Julian W. Mack, were given an additional and quasi-democratic "mandate" and a number of accompanying delegates, to do what they could in the direction indicated. The two practically dominated the Committee of Jewish Delegations from various countries which was formed in Paris at the time of the Peace Negotiations in Versailles. This American Jewish representation, which received more official recognition than any *Shtadlanuth* at an international gathering of a like nature in the past, left its mark on the text of various treaties in which the rights of minorities were defined, and must be credited with having created a weighty precedent for the recognition of the rights of Jews where they are acknowledged to be a special nationality. (See "The Peace Conference and the Rights of Minorities" in the American Jewish Year Book for 5680, pp. 156–63).

That the victories which were won for minority rights proved in the end to be worth very little does not belittle the merit or glory of those who assisted in obtaining them. It was simply demonstrated again that real improvement in the condition of the Jews cannot come through official promises, that only general liberty for all inhabitants and the rise to a higher culture can bring lasting betterment. The reliance on the League of Nations to protect the rights of the weak minorities has also proved to be futile, and it would probably have been the same even if America had been inveigled to join it.

V

IT IS, in my opinion, a mistake to group outbursts of enmity, or particularly discriminating actions, as a class in themselves, disregarding all other social phenomena which demonstrate tendencies in a contrary direction. As it is not my purpose here to prove that there is, or that there is not, serious or threatening anti-Semitism in the United States, I consider it proper to place the facts before the reader and let him draw his own conclusions.

There is discrimination against Jews in certain colleges and universities, but there are on the other hand many Jewish students in those institutions who do not take it seriously. Also, the number of Jewish students in all the institutions of higher and professional learning is certainly not below the proportion of the Jewish to the general population. The number of Jewish professors and associate or assistant professors (exclusive of tutors and instructors, and not including teachers in Jewish institutions), which exceeds three hundred, must also be taken into consideration when that field is reviewed.

Cases of social ostracism such as exclusion from

certain social clubs and snobbish summer resorts do occur; but judging by the number of such events which attract general attention, they are not on the increase, and there is perhaps a decrease in their virulence. It is not easy to see much progress in either direction from the time when State Librarian Melvil Dewey was compelled to relinquish his office on account of his connection with a resort which advertised that it did not entertain Jews as guests (1905), or when Police Commissioner Bingham of New York City was forced to resign because he made an unwarranted public statement about Jews as criminals (1908), until the immediate past, when the attacks on the Jews which were published for several years in the *Dearborn Independent* ended with a complete recantation—its owner, the greatest industrialist of the age, Mr. Henry Ford, making an *amende honorable* as thorough as it was in his power to make.

The Ku Klux Klan, which several years ago appeared to be a serious menace, and which was, in the Presidential Campaign of 1924, deemed of sufficient importance to elicit from the leaders of both great parties disclaimers of connection or sympathy with it, did not repudiate the accusation of its being hostile to the Jews. But it has been losing ground continually, and now amounts to very little. It would be unjust to this country to compare these sporadic outbreaks, which have a termination, to systematic anti-Jewish movements in other countries; and we must counterbalance individual and semi-public demonstrations of unfriendliness with the more frequent expressions of friendship, or with the ease with which antipogrom resolutions or Zionist resolutions in various forms were passed in Congress and in State Legislatures practically whenever they were offered.

There were many cases wherein Jewish candidates for public office suffered defeat under conditions which justified the belief that a non-Jew would have won. But on the other hand we have the example of States like Idaho and Utah, where the number of Jews is exceedingly small, electing Jews as Governors.

A dozen "second Dreyfus cases" might be enumerated here—i.e., of Jews who were, or claimed to be, victims of judicial prosecution in which their racial or religious affiliation militated against them. But cases of miscarriages of justice are so common in this country that it would be easy for any group of men to adduce proof that they are being discriminated against—that is, if they consider their own wrongs only, disregarding general conditions as they affect other parts of the population in the same manner.

Temperance and self-control being two of the virtues of our race, it is natural that probably ninety per cent. of us should be in principle against Prohibition. And here too it is only our duty to admit that those who are charged with the enforcement of the "dry law" have been fair and liberal concerning the permission to use wine for Jewish sacramental purposes.

It was, I believe, the late Robert Ingersoll who said that if he were invested with the power of Providence he would make health instead of disease "contagious." So would one wish that acts of liberalism, of generosity and of actual friendship for the Jews would attract the attention which is now given to everything which can be interpreted as a manifestation of enmity. It is hardly a compliment to other countries that friendly acts affecting Jews, because they so rarely occur, do there attract considerable attention. In such lands an almost painstaking account is kept of all Jews who are advanced in any public capacity, no matter how trivial it may be.

Here hardly anybody troubles himself with recording the names of Jewish members in the State Legislatures, and if a list of the Jews serving as judges in the many and variegated courts of the United States were to be published, it would be a great surprise even to such Jews as think themselves well informed on such matters. It would be vain boasting to pride ourselves on the excellence of our position in this great Republic.

But when we think of the slow and difficult adjustment which the Jewries of other countries have to pass through, and how much they are dependent on our help while undergoing that process, it is unjustifiable to "conceal our assets" or to make a false plea of hard times to those who are so much worse pressed than we are.

I should count as the last thing on the debit side the effort which is made to induce the United States to adhere to the proposed thirteen-month Calendar Reform, which would destroy the fixity of the Sabbath by making it move backward one day every common year and two days in a leap year. This is the more regrettable because the five-day week is being adopted in one large industry after another, and it seems to be only a question of time when Saturday will have become a day of complete rest for the entire working population. Organizations which are opposing the change are being formed to strengthen the hands of Congressman Bloom of New York, who is opposing it in the National Legislature—where, let us hope, he will be successful.

VI

IN THE cloak-makers' strike which was declared in New York while this article was being written, the vicious circle from which labor movements among the Jewish immigrants have not yet succeeded in escaping again becomes apparent. There were many great strikes, "general" and otherwise, in the needle trades, the most notable of which was the great cloak-makers' strike of 1910 which resulted in the famous *Protocol*. This was a working agreement more in accord with American methods of compromise and conciliation than was agreeable to the literary spirit in which movements among natives of Eastern Europe are carried on. The result was that others learned and benefited from the *Protocol* more than those for whom it was originated, and the struggle commenced anew every few years to remedy abuses which had presum-

ably abated after the usually "victorious" end of every strike of that nature.

Clear-headed American labor leaders now admit that the typically Jewish laborer, as personified in the cloak-maker, has sufficient cause to be more radical than his American comrade. The latter is continually ascending, from one improvement to another, and a return to the conditions of fifteen or twenty years ago is for him unthinkable, so that he has good reason to believe in the efficacy of Trade Unionism. The cloak-maker is in some respects not better off, in others even in a worse condition than before the War; and it is natural for him to despair of all present remedies and to believe that only a radical reorganization of the economic order would cure the evils from which he is suffering.

In other industries the Jew is more successful both as an employee and as an employer, and there are some important branches of trade in which he is becoming predominant. He is sharing in the general advance in occupations and in businesses with which he has long been identified, as finance, department stores, jobbing and salesmanship, shop-keeping and agencies. He is rising in the liberal professions and in journalism, and is becoming prominent in criticism, in belles-lettres, in science and in art. Among the new industries the Jew is almost dominating motion picture production and distribution; and his new prominence in the building industry is a very significant development.

A few more words should be said about the Jew in present-day American literature, particularly in the field of periodical magazines, in which the publicist finds his arena. There is beginning to be heard a tone characteristically Jewish—and whether liked or disliked, it is a contribution which acts as a solvent, even if it has not yet created any substantial value; and much may be expected of it in the future. In scholarship, science and invention, notably in medicine, law and teaching, both the quantitative and qualitative participation of Jews in the higher forms of work and in the advancement of society is considerable. The number and the service of Jews in public life, local and national, and in consular and diplomatic service abroad, is continually increasing.

The Menorah Journal, *The Jewish Forum*, *The Young Judæan*, *The New Palestine* and a host of weeklies in the vernacular indicate the numerical as well as the qualitative increase of the Jewish press in America, which now consists of about one hundred periodical publications in English, Hebrew and Yiddish. Of about ten newspapers which appear daily, one—the *Jewish Daily Bulletin*—is in English, all the others being in Yiddish, serving the immigrant population. The Hebrew press is, for obvious reasons, the weakest of the three, and is concentrated in New York, while Jewish weeklies in English appear in every considerable community, with more than one each in the large centers. Many of them are older than twenty-five years, and none has attained pre-eminence as an organ of American Jewry.

THE evidence of inner consolidation, of conscious and instinctive efforts to make the best use of our growing forces and to provide for the requirements of the Jewish future is abundant. The building up of communities and the centralizing of institutions, the perfecting of systems of Jewish education, with higher institutions of learning as the culminating point and the hope for future fertility, go on with more energy and with more self-confidence than was ever displayed by American Jewry before.

There are five institutions for the training of rabbis: the Hebrew Union College, which is over fifty years old; the Jewish Theological Seminary (established in 1886 and reorganized in its present form in 1902); the Yeshiva Rabbi Isaac Elchanan, which dates back to 1896 and was reorganized in 1915 and is now carrying out a program of expansion which includes the establishment of the first Jewish College of Arts and Sciences in the country; another strictly Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary in Chicago, and also the extremely modern Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. I have already mentioned the Dropsie College.

Prominent Jewish visitors from abroad, representing many countries and many causes, were not unknown before the War; but they appeared in larger numbers during its continuance and after its conclusion. And whatever their station in life or their mission—whether they are great rabbinical authorities coming in the interest of religious education, or statesmen and party leaders who seek support for their activities or assistance for particular enterprises at home; whether it is the recurring visits of Dr. Weizmann and of Mr. Sokolow in the interests of Zionism, or the coming of litterateurs, artists, representatives of thought or spokesmen of the toiling and suffering classes—they all have this in common, that they remind the American Jew of his power, of his opportunities and of his duties.

World leadership of Jewry is thus thrust upon the American Jew. The truth that it is more blessed to give than to receive was never more clearly demonstrated. And it is in this spirit that we ought to view our rise, our spreading, our marvelous prosperity and our unlimited possibilities. And it is also in this spirit that we can grasp the full import of the rapprochement between the non-Zionists and the Zionists, the results of the Conferences held in New York in 1924, 1925 and 1928, which culminated in the plans for the formation of the so-called Jewish Agency. It seems to be our destiny to bring about a new adjustment of World Jewry to its surroundings, and a closer cooperation between the Jews of various countries than was known for the last two thousand years; to resurrect, redeem, construct and reconstruct Jewish life wherever it is possible, with a Jewish Palestine as the clarifying and welding force in the ascendant on the horizon.

World Jewry Since 1914

A Brief History of the Jews During the Past Fifteen Years

By PROF. SIMON DUBNOW

The cataclysm of the War shattered many sections of world Jewry and introduced changes which have profoundly affected the structure and the morale of hundreds of Jewish communities throughout the world. Professor Dubnow, recognized as the foremost Jewish historian of our day, has surveyed the events which have affected Jewry since 1914. Of necessity, he devotes a major part of his sketch to Russia and Poland, the two countries whose destinities have most closely affected the interests and lives of their Jewish residents. The condition of the Jews in Russia, the situation of the Jews in Czechoslovakia, the hopes of the Jews in Poland as well as the achievement of the Jews in America are appraised by this historian who, now residing in Berlin, sees the panorama of Jewish history from the vantage-point of one who intimately observed Jewish life for many decades before the War.

IT WAS inevitable that the World War should occur. For years the European governments had been assuring their subjects that "they were preparing for war because they desired peace." And as a fitting and natural climax to all these fine phrases they managed to "prepare" the most appalling war of all history.

Nor was this in any way a surprise to the thinking portion of mankind. For years the intensive endeavors of both coalitions of powers—the Triple and Dual Alliances—had been in the direction of bigger and better armed forces. They had imbued a whole generation with a spirit of military patriotism, with a blind cult of the army. The Wilhelms of the various countries had made a practice of brandishing their arms at every diplomatic difference. This rampant imperialism and headstrong militarism had converted the entire European scene into a quivering dormant explosive ready to burst into eager flame at the first untoward spark. The Austro-Serbian conflict provided the impetus.

In August, 1914, six powers hurled millions of soldiers into a destructive war which involved as many more in its bloody tangle of consequences. During the four years of unparalleled war that followed, about one million soldiers of the Jewish Diaspora fought and bled on the scarred battle-fields—three-fourths of them on the one side and one-fourth on the other. Brother warred with brother. This tragedy of the Diaspora, never before experienced on such a scale, has been crystallized in a grim popular anecdote. The story goes that a certain Jewish soldier had bayonetted a soldier of the enemy camp. As he stood in the first flush of unthinking victory he heard the other man murmur brokenly: "Hear, oh Israel." The horror of the revelation turned the triumphant killer into a raving madman.

The German mobilization, as that elsewhere, was carried on to the accompaniment of patriotic gestures and voluntary enlistments. The German Jews also showed much zeal. The war psychosis drove people of all classes and parties into the army. The assimilationists and the Zionists, the bourgeoisie and the Socialists found unity in the common cause. Many sincerely believed that they were abetting national progress by destroying Russia, the land of pogroms. Iron crosses awarded for valor and promotions to officerships inspired the Jewish soldiers. The appointment of field-rabbis on a par with the military chaplains of the Christian faith—a recognition of the equality of the Jews with their neighbors in death—seemed to augur the recognition of their equality in life.

Following close on the heels of the notorious manifestos by the German professors, the Jewish professor, Hermann Cohen, rallied to the defense of the German military command with ponderous philosophic artillery. In 1915–1916, in his pamphlet entitled *Deutschtum und Judentum*, he went so far as to attempt the demonstration of a close spiritual kinship between Judaism and Germanism. This member of the *ideal* "nation of Kant" apparently did not perceive the *real* antipode: the nation of Wilhelm, whose members even at the front were already beginning to remind the Jews of the uselessness of their sacrifice.

There had been no real cessation of anti-Semitism, either overt or latent. It was too intrinsic a part of the integral make-up of Prussian officialdom to be uprooted so summarily. There was continual demand for the transfer of Jews especially to the active army in order to demonstrate the innate revulsion of that "nation" to military duty. In 1916 the government was forced to yield to these demands. This step served to sober many in German Jewry who had worshiped the Moloch of war.



PROF. SIMON DUBNOW

THE fate of the Russian Jews was more instantaneously disastrous. Trapped in their Pale from the very outset of the flaming turmoil, they were not even given the opportunity to make the usual patriotic motions

at the first mobilization. Simultaneously with the opening of hostilities against Germany and Austria the Russian General Staff declared war against the peaceful Jewish population in the territory near the front.

Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaievich, the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army, held the vulgar prejudices manifested by all the Romanoffs against the Jews. His chief-of-staff, General Yanushkavitch, had long been one of the leaders of the reactionary nobles who had demanded the exclusion of the Jews from the army long before the War. Both of these men were thoroughly convinced that the Jewish population, dissatisfied with the Czarist régime, constituted a real menace to the army in those sections in which they had military training—a preconception that was shared by the major part of the staff. An additional menace seemed to lie in the fact that the Jews, because of the verbal similarity between German and Yiddish, could easily communicate with and ally themselves to the oncoming Germans.

It was because of these suspicions that a decision fraught with disaster for the Jews was reached. The commanders of the various armies were accorded the right to expel all those Jews who made their homes in the sections that lay close to the front. Russian Poland, into which the Austro-German armies tore from the beginning, was the first to feel the ruthless consequences of this decision. In August and September, 1914, whole Jewish communities were driven from the provinces of Radom, Lomzha and Lublin.

The Polish patriots at that time were themselves uncertain whether to acknowledge allegiance to Russia or to Austria. Yet they did not hesitate to spread false and harmful rumors concerning the Russian Jews. They declared that the Jews were sympathizing with the Central Powers and were furnishing them with provisions and spies. And thus it came about that after the departure of German troops the Jewish inhabitants of the place they had occupied would be accused of friendliness to the enemy—even when the only evidence against them would consist of the fact that they had under compulsion sold various goods to the invaders. At the slightest denunciation the alleged spies would be handed over to a military tribunal and shot.

Conditions in the cities were equally desperate. There the Russian commanders treated the Jewish communities as though they were hostile countries, incarcerating the rabbis and other important men as hostages. In the last months of 1914 entire Jewish communities were forcibly ejected from the cities of the provinces of Warsaw, Grodzisk, Chernowitz, Sochatchov and others. To make matters worse, orders to evacuate the Jewish population generally had to be carried out in twenty-four hours.

There were times, so it is said, when a group of exiles would meet a Russian division including in its ranks many Jewish soldiers. And the homeless expatriates would cry out: "Brothers—see what is done to us!" But the Jewish defenders of the Fatherland were unable to defend their own people. They were compelled to witness helplessly the destruction wrought by the Russian army during its capture of Eastern Galicia, where the victors made merry with the Jewish population.

THE year of the most complete defeat experienced by the Russian army—1915—was the year in which the Russian generals celebrated their victory over Russian Jewry, over a group that had furnished almost three hundred thousand soldiers for the battle-field.

In the spring of that year the behavior of the military administration bore all the signs of violent insanity. During the end of April and the beginning of May a complete expulsion of the Jews was ordered in the western sections of Kovno, Courland, Suwalki and Grodno—involving a mere trifle of two hundred thousand people. All the Jewish public institutions were mobilized to give material and spiritual aid and comfort to the victims of this violent outburst.

Feeling ran high; and during August, 1915, this senseless mob persecution was vigorously denounced from the platform of the Duma. In the course of the protest some of the deputies revealed the mechanism of the deliberate secret and criminal internal war against the Jews. The Political Committee sent to the various Jewish communities copies of a proposed manifesto addressed to Goremykin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers. This was to be signed by the representatives of the leading Jewish communities. The document closed with the following words:

"It is imperative that the Jewish people know immediately for what the blood of their sons is being shed in this war; for what the flower of their youth is perishing—for what wives are being widowed and children orphaned. Shall they remain slaves and sufferers on Russian soil after all these sacrifices, or shall they live again as free citizens with full rights?"

But this courageous proposal came to naught. The panic-stricken communities were afraid to sign the petition and in the end it remained unpresented. Relief was effected, however, in a curious fashion. Shortly after the Kovno expulsion the melancholy consequences of the exodus became apparent to the Christian population, which soon found itself in a most impoverished state. For with the removal of the Jews there had been a complete cessation of trade. As a result the government on its own initiative agreed to the return of the exiles on condition that hostages be given by the Jewish communities as guarantees of loyalty. And even in this matter the government finally acceded to the wishes of the Jews; and this offensive condition was removed after a specific declaration of protest by Deputy Freedman, Deputy to the Duma from Kovno, who had been entrusted with this mission by the Political Committee.

True, the Jews were driven into exile. But they

were soon followed by those who had driven them. From August, 1915, on, the shattered Russian armies, together with the General Staff, rapidly retreated from Galicia, Poland and Lithuania. The demoralized soldiers instituted pogroms against the Jews along the path of the retreat. During the autumn, in the villages of the provinces of Vilna and Minsk, there occurred frightful massacres and thousands of women were violated.

FROM the end of the summer of 1915 on Warsaw and all of Russian Poland as well as a large part of Lithuania—Vilna and Kovno—were under German and Austrian rule, which continued for three years until the end of the World War.

Thus two million Jews were freed from the Russian military terror. But now they experienced the full pressure of a foreign occupation: endless requisitions of bread and all provisions for the German armies and the hungry hinterland; forced labor and incredible want as the result of inability to earn wages.

In this gloomy period two severed branches of the Diaspora again grew closer—the West and East European Ashkenazim. The illusion of a union between West and East European Jewry under a future German protectorate was created. Jewish organizations such as the Committee for the East were formed in Berlin to prepare for this step. The press discussed the question of a cultural rapprochement between Russian and German Jews. Some writers felt that Yiddish could play a potent rôle as a Germanizing factor.

In Russia this illusion found but a feeble response. Some hope had been aroused by the partial dissolution of the Pale in 1915, when the Russian government had been compelled to permit hundreds of thousands of Jewish fugitives and exiles from the occupied West to enter into Great Russia. It was a common jest that the Pale had been abolished by Kaiser Wilhelm—and there was strong hope that Czar Nicholas would be unable to reestablish it after the War.

Pro-German sympathizers were prevalent among those who had suffered under the Russian military régime. But the majority of the Jewish political leaders in Russia favored the Entente. It was their hope that after the victory the two "great democracies" would be able to influence their ally, Russia, to emancipate the Jews.

The Zionists attached their national hopes to this victory. Every one was at this time very much agitated by the news that Turkey, the new ally of the German coalition, had perpetrated a series of outrages against the Palestinian Jews. General Jemal Pasha had ordered all those Jewish inhabitants of Jaffa and Jerusalem who were not Turkish citizens to be either exiled or interned. This order, which was issued at the end of 1914, was directed especially against active Zionists who were suspected of pro-English sympathies.

A number of these exiles, banding together in Alexandria, formed a company of Jewish volunteers. Subsequently this group became the nucleus of the Jewish Legion. And in 1915, as a unit in the English army, the Legionnaires besieged the Turkish fortress of Gallipoli on the Dardanelles. This unit of six hundred—the "Zion Mule Corps"—under the command of Colonel Patterson and a Jewish officer from Russia, the heroic Trumpeldor, transported munitions and supplies to the front under the deadly fire of the Turks. Only after heavy casualties did they retreat together with the English army.

II

REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR IN RUSSIA

THE third year of this process of self-destruction in Europe brought with it the beginning of the break. The old cry—"War to a victorious end"—was still heard among the official circles of both coalitions. But the patriotic furor was growing weaker and weaker among the people, for they were by now coming to the realization that their sons were going to battle in the name of empty conceptions of imperial power and military prestige. Towards the latter half of 1916 other slogans began to resound loudly, as though in expiation of a universal crime—"the emancipation of small nations"; "national self-determination"; "rights of national minorities."

Promulgated at the psychological moment, Wilson's program raised considerably the spirits of the downcast peoples. Particularly did its promise of the aid of America in the realization of these principles cheer that element which had suffered most—the millions of East European Jews. And they were supported by yet another hope. They lived in expectation of a great Russian revolution at the close of the War as a result of the decay of the Czarist régime.

The revolution came even sooner that it had been expected. It came months before the end of the World War. In the course of several days (March 12–16, 1917) there took place in St. Petersburg the most thoroughgoing and at the same time the least bloody of all great revolutions. It found an instantaneous response throughout the entire country both at the front and in the rear. The age-long Russian power fell like an overripe fruit.

A complete emancipation of the Jews as citizens and members of a separate nationality was instantly proclaimed. The Provisional Government, by a decree of April 4, 1917, granted all civil, political and national rights to the Jews of Russia. It began to seem as though the Third Emancipation would be the harbinger of a new era in Jewish history—an era of the actual liberation not only of the individual Jew, but of the entire Jewish nation, which had never before been recognized as such by East European constitutions. Russian Jewry was completely ripe for such a thoroughgoing emancipation. There were in its midst, distributed among the various parties, a goodly

number of talented politicians and national and social leaders.

In the midst of the political tempests of 1917 organization committees were formed in St. Petersburg and the provinces for the preparation of an All-Russian Jewish Congress, which was to take the part of a constitutional assembly for Jewish affairs before the convocation of a general constitutional assembly. Party strife delayed the calling of this Congress. In the meantime, the gradual disintegration of Russia as a result of the separatism of the Ukraine and the approaching civil war made a single organization representative of all Russian Jewry impossible. Soon fell the thunderbolt that destroyed all the gains of the March Revolution and the April Emancipation.

THE dual rule of the Provisional Government and the Workers' Soviet, the indecision and the powerlessness of Kerensky, the delay in liquidating the War and in calling the Constitutional Assembly—all these elements helped feed the hydra of Bolshevism and led to the November catastrophe of 1917. In contradistinction to the March Revolution, in which all elements of the people had participated wholeheartedly, this revolution was purely factional. It entailed the accession to power of a group of dictators who trampled on democracy, honored the will of the party above the will of the people, created the militarism of civil war and envisaged the "permanent revolution" as an end in itself.

Lenin and Trotsky—the one a native Russian, the other a Jew alienated from his people—stood at the head of this upheaval which destroyed Russia and the chief Jewish center. Among the lesser lights of Bolshevism were comparatively many Jews whose souls had been poisoned by the persecutions of Czarism. They were men in whom the spark of Socialism had turned not into a beacon for the nations, but into a torch for the kindling of inquisition pyres. All these Zinoviev-Applebaums, Kamenev-Rosenfelds and others who shamefacedly hid their Jewish names under pseudonyms, as did Trotsky-Bronstein—all these Sverdlovs, Uryzkys and Volodarskys found an outlet for their undisciplined rebel energy in Bolshevism.

The fanatical adherents of the dictatorship of the proletariat swept aside all the Democrats, Social-Democrats and Social-Revolutionists, among whom were many Jews. Actually, the Left Social-Revolutionists did at first join the November upheaval and send one of their leaders, Isaac Steinberg—at present well known as an anti-Bolshevist journalist—to the Soviet of Peoples' Commissars as a commissar of justice. But this group soon separated from the Bolshevists when they became acquainted with their inquisitorial methods.

When the Jew, Leonid Kannegisser, killed the Jew, Uritzky, the chairman of the terrible Cheka; when Dora Kaplan attempted to shoot Lenin in August, 1918, it became apparent that a great love of democracy was inherent in the nature of Jewish youth. Both young people affirmed at the trial that they had striven to avenge their outraged concepts of liberty, and the dissolution of the Constitutional Assembly. The execution of these martyrs on the altar of freedom marked the beginning of the conflagration of the Red Terror, which did not cease in Russia for several years.

RUSSIA was caught in the flames of civil war. Czechoslovakian legions; the armies of Admiral Kolchak in the East, Denikin and other White generals in the South; the seceded nationalist troops of the Ukraine—all these groups fought with the Bolshevists and turned Russia into one vast battlefield.

The Ukranian Jews found themselves in the midst of the holocaust. The Ukraine, in which a separatist sentiment became apparent soon after the March Revolution, seceded from the Russian Socialist Federated Republic after the November upheaval. In addition to the national motive that prompted this step there was also the political one: the desire to separate from the nest of Communist infection. The Ukranian Central Rada and the General Secretariat in Kiev—Vinnitchenko, Petlura and others—opposed the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and the Soviet of Peoples' Commissars in St. Petersburg; these soviets have been located in Moscow since 1918.

Fifty representatives of the various Jewish parties participated in the Kiev Rada. When the government was formed a special ministry for Jewish affairs was created as a symbol of the autonomous Jewish national minority; the ministers in the first half of 1918 were M. Silberfarb and W. Latzky. And again it seemed that the fondest promises of the March Revolution and the Third Emancipation would be fulfilled—this time by the Ukraine.

Many Jews of St. Petersburg and Moscow sought refuge in Kiev. But here too they were destined to a disillusionment even more bitter than before. While battling with the Bolshevist troops who had temporarily captured Kiev in February, 1918, the masses of the Ukrainian people became inflamed by the violent passions incident to brutal warfare. Even before this period special Ukrainian divisions had been formed among the demobilized sections of the Russian army. These divisions bore names which will long be remembered among the Jews for their terrible historic significance—names such as "Division of Free Cossacks," "Division of Khmelnitzky," "Division of Gonta" and others of like import. This "national army," filled with the warlike spirit of the ancient *Haidamachina*, massacred the Jews in the provinces of Kiev and Poltava; and at the same time the Jewish communities in the province of Chernigov were destroyed by marauding Bolshevist bands. From March through April, 1918, approximately two hundred Jews were killed in the cities of Glukhov and Novgorod.

This wholesale slaughtering was stopped in May when the Germans captured the greater part of the Ukraine and put into power the Russian general, Skoropadsky, who dreamt of the restoration of the region to a future All-Russian Monarchist Federation. The fatal autumn of 1918 crushed his plans. The complete crumbling of the German army and the November Revolution in Berlin forced the Germans to evacuate the Ukraine. Deprived of their assistance Skoropadsky fell, yielding to a Ukraine Directorate in the persons of Petlura and similar fanatical adherents of national "independence."

III

PEACE AND ITS AFTERMATH

IN NOVEMBER, 1918, a year and a half after the crash of the Russian monarchy, came the fall of the two great monarchies of Germany and Austria. Since the defeat of their united armies and their last encounter with the united powers of the Entente and America the Central Powers had been utterly unable to maintain their governments—mainly because these governments drew their support from army bayonets.

But their ultimate reactions were quite dissimilar. Military Germany was transformed into a peaceful republic. The Austrian conglomeration of nations, on the other hand, was resolved into its constituent parts. Wilhelm II, that foremost evangelist of the cult of war, was forced to abdicate his throne and flee to Holland.

The government which was formed after the November Revolution in Berlin under the leadership of the Social-Democrat, Ebert, immediately concluded an armistice with the Entente and took heroic measures to save the country from the anarchy and dictatorship that had ruined Russia. German Communists or "Spartacists," under the leadership of Carl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemberg—the latter a Germanized Polish Jewess—urged the dictatorship of the proletariat and the declaration of a soviet republic; but neither of these leaders had any sympathy for the terrorist methods of Lenin and Trotsky. Yet in spite of their mildness they fell victims to the monarchist terror. In January, 1919, they were arrested; and the Prussian officers in whose custody they had been put shot them both—on the pretext that they had attempted to escape.

Several Jewish Socialists were involved in the Bavarian Revolution, which ran a heavily complicated course. The leader of the revolutionists in Munich was the famous Social-Democratic journalist, Kurt Eisner, who had previously languished in jail because of his pacifist propaganda to end the War. After his liberation he was made chairman of the Workers' Soviet and later, in November, 1918, Minister President of the Bavarian Republic.

For three tempestuous months the Jew Eisner directed the destinies of Bavaria. He saved her from Monarchist reaction and Communist dictatorship. But towards the end the task seemed to him to be beyond his strength and he decided to resign. But too late. He was killed by an anti-Semitic student, Count Arco by name, on February 21, 1919—he was assassinated while on his way to the *Landstag* to announce his resignation.

SHORTLY after this the Communists in Bavaria seized the government and proclaimed a Soviet Republic—which, however, lasted only one month, from the beginning of April to the beginning of May. Here too a few tragic Jewish figures flit across the screen of the Revolution.

Gustav Landauer, the talented literary critic and journalist who had long dreamt of a cleansing revolutionary whirlwind in Germany, threw himself into the most radical Socialist wing in his desire to save the Revolution from the dire fate that had befallen the bloody Russian experiment; but he fell victim to the Right terrorists. Arrested together with the other members of the Munich Workers' Soviet, he was taken to a concentration camp and on May 2nd was brutally slain by the soldiers of the old army.

Then there was Eugene Levine, another Jewish participant in the Communist upheaval in Bavaria. As a youth he had been involved in the Russian Revolution of 1905. During the World War he had been an active pacifist propagandist. He was arrested with other leading Munich Communists and sentenced to be shot by the military tribunal on June 4th.

After the fall of the ephemeral Soviet Republic Bavaria became the scene of a brutal anti-Semitic reaction—the Nationalist Socialist band of Hitler and others. At the same time, while the Jews as a whole were being accused of a destructive Maximalism, two individual Jews were taking a most active part in the reconstruction of war-shattered Germany. Walter Rathenau and Hugo Preuss were the exact antithesis of the popular German conception of Jews at that time. The former acted as Minister of Reconstruction and later of Foreign Affairs; the latter was the author of the framework of the German constitution which was subsequently adopted by the National Assembly in Weimar and which became the foundation of the German Democratic Republic of the new régime.

It was only in Hungary that several Jews of the Russian Bolshevist type appeared. Bela Kun, who formerly had been Minister of Foreign Affairs, made plenty of trouble in his fatherland during the five months of Soviet government in Hungary—from March through July, 1919. He then fled to Russia and received a responsible appointment in the Crimea; and there he became known as one of the most brutal exterminators of the bourgeoisie.

During the years that followed the Hungarian Jews paid heavily for the part played by Kun and several other Jewish madmen in the Communist Revolution. Hundreds of Hungarian Jews fell victim to the

reactionary terror that raged under the dictatorship of General Horthy.

THE year which saw the liquidation of the World War—1919—proved to be a year of glorious hopes and depressing losses for the Jewish people. Even before the beginning of the Paris Peace Conference in January Jewish political leaders had drawn up a list of demands ready for presentation. These preparations fell into two divisions: those of a Zionist nature and those of a general nationalist tenor.

During the last year of the War the representatives of the Zionists had developed intensive diplomatic negotiations. Chaim Weizmann and Nahum Sokolow, the Zionist leaders, held a series of conferences with the British government; and the result of their efforts was the Balfour Declaration of November, 1917. This Declaration, issued by Lord Balfour as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, proclaimed the readiness of England to assist at the close of the War in the formation of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. It aroused the most intense enthusiasm throughout the Jewish world.

The Jewish Legionnaires, who were fighting the Turks in the ranks of the British army in Palestine, now redoubled their energies. Jewish young men throughout the world were inspired to fight for the Homeland. In 1918 the Jewish Legion under the leadership of its founder Vladimir Jabotinsky had grown into an army that numbered four thousand adherents.

After the occupation of Palestine by the British it became essential to confirm by means of an international decree the right of the Jew to establish a national center in Palestine. In February, 1919, a memorandum was accordingly presented to the Peace Conference by the Zionist leaders Ussishkin, Sokolow and Weizmann. As a result of these negotiations the League of Nations gave Great Britain the Mandate for Palestine.

HAND in hand with the Zionist work in Paris, energetic measures were being taken to secure the independence of the Jewish national minorities in the countries formed by treaties as a result of the War. Many Jewish representatives of these countries were present in Paris when the sessions of the Peace Conference began. Louis Marshall, Julian Mack and others were there as delegates of the two American political organizations—the Jewish Committee and the Jewish Congress.

These men formed a separate Committee of Jewish Delegates in March, 1919. Their purpose was the international defense of the rights of Jewish minorities. The founder and secretary of the new organization was Leo Motzkin, who was a member of the Zionist Actions Committee, and who was equally devoted to the ideal of Zionism and to the ideal of Jewish autonomy in the Diaspora.

On the tenth of May the Committee of Jewish Delegations presented a comprehensive memorandum to the Peace Conference. In the name of nine million Jews it demanded that the civil and national rights of the Jewish minorities in the various countries receive consideration equal to that accorded to the rights of other national minorities during the peace negotiations. The memorandum also demanded that suitable guarantees be included in the constitutions of the newly created countries.

Mainly because of internal dissension among the Jews themselves, however—the assimilationist Jews were not willing to accept the concept of a Jewish nationality—it was impossible to secure formal recognition of Jewish national minorities by the assembled nations. But, partially as a result of the Jewish memorandum, the Peace Conference guaranteed the rights of all religious, ethnic and national minorities—in which number the Jews were included. The Versailles Treaty defined the rights of national minorities in Poland. Succeeding treaties made the same provisions for other countries: Rumania, Lithuania, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria. In 1920 the Committee of Jewish Delegations empowered its leaders, Sokolow and Motzkin, to represent the Jewish minorities at the League of Nations in Geneva.

The world now looked forward to a speedy reign of peace. But reality quickly shattered these Utopian dreams. The Versailles Peace was a peace between victor and vanquished—between the armed and the disarmed. The division of military spoils and the redistribution of territory were accompanied by numerous insurrections, attacks and border disputes. And everywhere the Jew, armed only with paper guarantees, stood as buffer between the chauvinism of the conqueror and the bitterness of the conquered.

As might have been expected, on him rained the blows of both sides. As early as the end of 1918 the Polish legionnaires celebrated the Polish Declaration of Independence by anti-Jewish excesses in various places—particularly in Galicia, where the bloody Lemberg pogrom of November 22–24 took place according to the most punctilious rules of Czarism. The armed bands continued these violent outbursts for the next two years, during which time Poland fought on the border now with the Russian Bolshevists, now with the Lithuanians.

When the Poles captured Vilna, which had been occupied by the Bolshevists, they were not content to massacre merely the latter. They shot many Jews who had no connection of any kind with Bolshevism Among these victims was the famous writer, A. Vajter, who was killed April 19, 1919. And in Pinsk the Poles shot thirty-five Zionists who had been caught at a meeting.

After the retreat of the Red Army from Warsaw in August, 1920, the Polish authorities cruelly persecuted the Jews in the villages which lay along the course taken by the Red Army. These persecutions were justified by the old excuse of "Jewish treachery."

The completely demoralized divisions in the Polish Army, particularly those under General Haller, had great sport with the Jews in all the cities within the heart of Poland. They cut off the beards of the Chassidim and wantonly threw Jewish passengers off of the trains. Pilsudski, the head of the government and the founder of several legions for the emancipation of Poland, paid little attention to these activities of his soldiers—and even less to the protests of the Jewish Deputies in the Seim.

The eager desires of the militant young republic were satisfied only when the Riga Peace, concluded in March, 1921, put huge territories taken from White Russia, Lithuania and Volhynia under the power of Poland. Almost one third of the Jewish population of Czarist Russia was incorporated into the new Poland. Together with the Galician and Posnanian Jews they constituted a group of three million. But despite their numerical strength they still had to struggle for the realization of their paper equal rights.

DURING this period there was created in independent Lithuania a small Jewish center which underwent various metamorphoses. During the two years following the departure of the Germans Vilna, the half Jewish and half Polish ancient Lithuanian capital, changed hands continually. It shifted back and forth between the Bolshevists, the Poles and the Lithuanians. At one time the Kovno government established itself there and preparations ensued to change Vilna into the capital of "Great Lithuania." But then the Polish general, Zeligowski, arrived with a special division, captured the city in October, 1920, and proclaimed Vilna as a special political unit bearing the name "Central Lithuania." His intention was to unite this fictitious country with Poland in the following year.

The Lithuanian republic immediately granted to the Jewish population all the rights of a national minority with a national Soviet and a Secretary for Jewish Affairs, M. Soloveichik. Naturally enough the Jews at first sympathized profoundly with the woes of their compatriots, now deprived of their historic capital. But later, as we shall see, they had little cause to mourn the fact that only a small nucleus of one hundred and fifty thousand Jews remained in little Lithuania.

In Latvia there arose an even smaller Jewish center. Here were congregated about a hundred thousand Jews, who had with difficulty saved themselves from the destruction of the civil war that had spread from Soviet Russia. The small Baltic republic did not entirely escape from the puerile complex of Jew-hatred; but even in the beginning this was manifested only in mild fashion. And afterwards normal relations were established with the Jews as with any other national minority.

Of all these countries Rumania profited most from the World War. Under the peace treaties of 1919 and 1920 she received from Austria-Hungary Bukovina and Transylvania, territories that were thickly populated by Jews. Thus she emerged with a Jewish population of approximately a million.

At first the Rumanian Government attempted to enforce the ancient method of "naturalization." But the Paris and St. Germain treaties obliged it to respect the equal rights of the Jews, and after prolonged opposition it was compelled to yield. But the result of this involuntary surrender was several years of anti-Semitic terrorism for the Jews, as will be seen later.

IV

THE UKRAINIAN MASSACRES

WHILE the countries newly organized by the Versailles pact were struggling to adapt themselves to the changes in their composition and configuration, Soviet Russia and the Ukraine continued to suffer the devastation of civil war. Militant Communism was on a rampage, bringing expropriation and terror, leaving famine and death in its wake. Russia—surrounded by the White Armies, cut off from other lands by a blockade—was being choked to death. In this cage the beast of Bolshevism fumed fiercely, suppressing revolt with all the forces of the Red Army, persecuting political heretics through the inquisition of the Cheka.

Special Commissariats for national affairs had been appointed to preserve the new principle of the autonomy of minority groups. But where the Jews were concerned this autonomy consisted merely of a public recognition of the Yiddish language; the independent status of the Jewish communities was destroyed. Thus in June, 1919, the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs issued a decree ordering the permanent dissolution of the Soviets of the Jewish communities and of the Central Soviet of the United Jewish Communities of Moscow; this on the ground that they were bourgeois in character. And Jewish Communists led the Red soldiers who disbanded the Soviets which these communities had elected by popular vote after the March Revolution.

Those who joined the Communist Party included not only men who adhered to no especial political principles, but also a great majority of Bundists and other Jewish Socialists who had, at the beginning, opposed the Bolshevist Revolution.

Economically the Jews of Soviet Russia suffered greater hardships than did the other elements of the population; this largely because most of them had belonged to that middle class which the Communists had destroyed. From the political point of view, however, their difficulties were no greater than those to which the other Russians were subjected.

FAR greater was the horror in the Ukraine, where two million Jews were literally crushed between the millstones of civil war and revolution. In Jewish history the year 1919 was an exaggerated edition of the dreadful time of 1648 and 1768. It was the third

Haidamachina, set in a new political frame. After the fall of Hetman Skoropadski and the withdrawal of the Germans from the Ukraine in December, 1918, this region became the scene of a bloody struggle for power between the nationalists and the Bolshevists. The Ukrainian Directorate which Petlura had established in Kiev found it necessary to imbue its own army with fanatic nationalism in order to inflame its passions against the Red Army. And the *atamans* of the Ukrainian army divisions—which were joined by volunteer bands of *Haidamaki*—knew only one source of inspiration for their soldiers: permission to butcher the Jews.

Anti-Jewish excesses, which soon assumed the character of organized pogroms and massacres, began ıs soon as the Directorate had been well established n Kiev. January, 1919, was marked by dozens of pogroms, the most fearful of these taking place in three cities in the province of Volhynia—Ovruch, Berdichev and Zhitomir. These were systematic nassacres, following a definite plan: Upon entering a city the Ukrainians would—falsely, of course—ıccuse the Jews of sympathizing with the Bolshevists, ınd the *ataman* would levy a fine amounting to milions of *rubles* upon the Jewish communities. As oon as the money had been paid he would give his oldiers free rein to kill and plunder. And these nassacres gave rise to many incidents of cold brutality hat did not hesitate even at the ravishment of women.

Thus the blood-thirsty Cossack *ataman* Kojir-Zirko invited a Jewish deputation to meet him at the Ovruch railway station before he left the city—presumably for a conference. But when thirty delegates of the Jewish community arrived there he ordered his men to shoot; and not a single Jew survived hat "conference." The Jews of Berdichev had to ndergo even greater horror; some had their ears cut ff—others had their beards torn out by the roots.

When the Bolshevists captured Kiev—at the begining of February, 1919—the Directorate removed its eat to Podolia. And immediately, on February 5th, the city of Proskurov witnessed a pogrom whose ightfulness was intensified by the Ukrainian thirst or vengeance. The barbaric *ataman*, Semosenko, razing his men with vodka, forced them to swear to onfine themselves to the killing of Jews and to bstain from plundering. His soldiers followed his irections to the letter. Groups of them went from ıouse to house murdering all the members of each amily with cold steel—for they were loth to waste owder and bullets on Jews, and, accordingly, shot nly at those who fled. After three days of this ıassacre twelve hundred bodies were buried in a ommon grave. A similar fate befell five hundred ews in the neighboring village of Feldstein; they were slaughtered by a Cossack brigade distinguished y the name of Petlura.

When, shortly after this, Petlura himself—then ecretary of War—arrived in Proskurov, Semosenko ave him a complete report on the pogrom, as if he were rendering an account of an assigned task. Clearly the highest military authorities deemed it impossible to stop this butchery without injuring the morale of the army, which thirsted for Jewish blood.

A characteristic story is told of a Jewish delegation which, pleading with Petlura to put a stop to the pogroms, received the answer: "Please do not cause trouble in my army!" And when, after another pogrom in Zhitomir, a second Jewish deputation attempted to approach him he refused to receive it. Throughout the first half of 1919 the Ukraine was the scene of constantly repeated anti-Jewish excesses on the part of the Petlurists. The entire country was devastated by numerous bands led by *atamans* who had become professional murderers and plunderers. One of these *atamans*, Grigoriev by name—originally a Bolshevist, but now a Ukrainian patriot—made a veritable shambles of Elisovetgrad in May, and destroyed many Jewish communities in the South.

THE second half of 1919 by no means saw a diminution of the slaughter in the Ukraine; but now the butchers were Russian instead of Ukrainian nationalists. A volunteer army consisting of former Czarist officers and of Cossacks from the Don and the Kuban came up from the South, under the command of General Denikin. This army marched through the Ukraine toward Moscow, intending to overthrow the Soviet Government, and hoping that if it succeeded the European powers would come to its aid. This White Army had a preponderance of reactionary elements, Monarchists and former members of the Black Hundred who translated revenge upon the Bolshevists into terms of Jewish massacres.

Ukrainian Jewry—unaware of this spirit, hoping for a respite from the Petlurist brutality which had decimated them and from the destructive Bolshevists who had ruined them—rejoiced at first when Denikin expelled the Bolshevists from many cities of Southwestern Russia. But their disillusionment came swiftly. With the battle cry of "Kill the Jews, save Russia," the victors would rush into a city evacuated by the Ukrainians and complete whatever murder and looting the others had left undone. The provinces of Kiev and Podolia were bathed in blood.

Delegations of Jews went to Denikin and begged him to stop the pogroms. His reply was that the military authorities forbade all such excesses, but that it was difficult to restrain the officers—who had been nobles under the Czarist régime—from venting their fury against the Bolshevists upon the Jews. Like Petlura, Denikin and his generals were careful not to dampen the hatred of their army against the Jews.

When Denikin's soldiers captured Kiev in September a period of veritable martyrdom commenced for the local Jews. Avoiding open pogroms that might have compromised the White Army in the eyes of Europe, the officers carried on their anti-Jewish activities very quietly. They would search Jewish homes at night on the pretext of confiscating arms.

Actually, however, the Jews would be robbed of all their money and jewels—"for patriotic purposes"—and many of them would be beaten or even killed. This "trial by terror," as the anti-Semitic Shulgin maliciously called it in his newspaper *Kievlanin*, continued for three months. Throughout this time the Jews lived in constant dread of these nocturnal visitors who brought ruin and death. And when the White Army was obliged to withdraw hurriedly before the advancing forces of the Red Army the retreating "Saviors of Russia" wreaked their wrath at their defeat upon the Jews.

AT LAST this year of internecine war drew to a close. The year that followed, 1920, saw a gradual recession of the bloody wave. But even then several dozen fresh pogroms occurred. When the Bolshevists returned to the cities laid waste by Petlura's and Denikin's hordes the surviving Jews hailed them as redeemers. But soon the Jewish population learned that though the new government did not destroy life it took away the means of sustaining life.

In the spring, during the advance of the United Polish-Ukrainian Armies against the Bolshevists, Petlura's men resumed their Jew-massacring activities; pogroms occurred in Tetiev and other cities of the Kiev region. This despite the fact that Petlura had issued some circulars prohibiting anti-Jewish excesses. Soon, however, these assassins were forced to flee before the onslaught of the Red Army.

But unfortunately the latter, too, had been infected by the Ukrainian spirit. When the cavalry troops of the Red General Budeny retreated from Warsaw in September and October, these savage horsemen staged dozens of pogroms in the cities of Volin and Kiev—the "Budeny Pogroms." From then until the spring of 1921 the last embers of the Ukrainian conflagration still smoldered. Some groups of the *Haidamaki* and other, smaller bands attempted to precipitate pogroms in remote villages. But these endeavors were quickly frustrated by the divisions of the Jewish "Self-Defense."

The list of the victims of the "third *Haidamachina*" reaches terrifying proportions. From December, 1918, to April, 1921, Ukraine witnessed eight hundred and eighty-seven large pogroms and three hundred and forty-nine minor excesses. The Jewish communities affected numbered five hundred and thirty, four hundred of them belonging to the provinces of Kiev, Volhynia and Podolia, the nesting-places of the old *Haidamachina*. Names familiar from the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Uman, Fastov, Tetiev, Tulchin, Nemirov, Brazlav—recur again and again in the accounts of these pogroms. Many localities were invaded by several bands successively. The total number of slain was about sixty thousand; and just as many more Jews were maimed and crippled. Many cities were destroyed, and a whole series of small villages was razed to the ground.

In a Paris street five years later, on May 25, 1926 Sholom Schwartzbard fired the shot that killed Petlura. The young watchmaker, a volunteer in the French Army during the War, had visited his native Ukraine during the pogroms; and since then he had been unable to find peace. Schwartzbard shot Petlura as he was leaving a café. He spent a year and a half in a Paris jail; but when he was finally brought to trial he was acquitted by a French jury in November, 1927. For the jury understood that this son of Israel had been driven to his violent act by the cries of the murdered, the groans of the tortured and the tears of widows and orphans.

V

UNDER THE BOLSHEVIST RÉGIME

ON THESE fields of death, amid the ruins of civil war, the bayonets of the Red Army established the power of the Soviet Government. The *Haidamachian* Ukraine entered the union of Russian Federated Soviet Republics, which three years of "military Communism" had reduced to a state of beggardom and famine. Confronted by the results of his experiment, Lenin proclaimed an armistice in the war of the Soviet Government against the people. In 192[illegible] the ruined land was granted the "New Economic Policy" according to which the Government yielded a part of its trade monopoly. The peasants were permitted to sell agricultural products, and the urban population—under strict governmental control—was allowed to engage in some measure of petty trade. The Jewish merchants, who had lost all their possessions, were at last enabled to earn some sort of livelihood, and it became possible for the populace to eat bread other than that doled out by the Soviet officials.

But though the Government relented in its economic warfare against the citizens of the land, it continued its political war. The entire country was terrorized by the inquisitionary methods of the Cheka, which soon was transformed into the GPU. Endless executions and the imprisonment or banishment of all political dissenters—whether they were former adherents of the Czar or the Social-Democrats and Social Revolutionists who had overthrown the Czarist régime—were the order of the day.

After the death of Lenin in January, 1924, the great Bolshevist Empire of Russia became the scene of a terrific struggle for power. Trotzky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin and dozens of other apostles of Marxism and Leninism proclaimed their interpretations of these doctrines, each according to his own light.

THIS internal struggle between principles and passions wrought chaos in the Communist ideology. The dictatorship of the proletariat became the dictatorship *over* the proletariat; all opposition to the Communist Party, all views differing from th

official position of the moment were crushed. Trotzky, the founder of one of the Opposition factions and the chief collaborator of Lenin in the first ruinous experiment, has been banished together with those whom he only recently threatened with the guillotine.

Two and a half million Jews—the remnant of a once powerful center of six millions whom even the despotism of the Czar could not crush—are slowly perishing in this kingdom of the new "Thirty Tyrants." According to present official statistics Soviet Russia now has almost a million declassed Jews who were members of the now extinct middle class; these have been unable to establish themselves in either trade or industry, both of which now constitute a government monopoly.

These people have been ruined not only economically, but politically as well. As former bourgeois they are denied representation and all other civil rights. Even in their personal lives they are subject to many disabilities. They are obliged to pay more than others for the minimum essentials of existence; their children are not permitted to enter the higher institutions of learning. These Jews are dying a slow death. Slightly better is the position of the large artisan class. It enjoys a meager measure of civil rights; but it suffers materially because the pauperized bourgeoisie can no longer pay for labor.

Only one field—the civil service—offers a fairly definite assurance of bread to tens of thousands of Jewish families. For under the system of government monopoly many who had formerly been employed in private enterprises became officials, clerks in the department of "Government Trade" and shopkeepers in the government stores. But these officials must, no matter how high or low their position, make themselves agreeable to their chiefs and simulate Bolshevist sympathies, lest they lose their appointments and be left to starve.

In recent years the Moscow Government, perceiving the slow extinction of hundreds of thousands of human beings expropriated by the Revolution, has been trying to settle the Jews in agricultural colonies. The new colonists are being granted land in the Crimea and other parts of Southern Russia where the Czarist government once settled the Jews. Settlements are also being established in Amur, on the Chinese frontier. But all the expenditures made for this purpose by the Russian Government and by the American relief society, the Agro-Joint, have brought about the colonization of only approximately ten thousand families on the land—a number which does not compensate for even half of the natural increase of the Jewish population in the period considered.

THE spiritual life of the Jews in Russia has been shamefully neglected. National cultural autonomy is being put into effect by the Yevsektsia, the Jewish Section of the Communist Party. This group—which consists largely of deserters from the Bund and other Socialist parties—is endeavoring with neophyte zeal to excel the Russian Bolshevists in fanaticism. It has instigated systematic persecutions of the Jewish religion; it has closed synagogues and transformed them into workers' clubs; it has banned *Cheders* and *Yeshivas*, and has forbidden the publication and distribution of literature in the Hebrew language. By autonomy of language it means only the recognition of the Jewish language of every-day speech, Yiddish, for which a new orthography devoid of all traces of Hebrew origin has been devised.

All classes of Zionists, including even the Socialist-Zionists, are persecuted as "allies of British imperialism" and are thrown into prison or banished to Siberia. The special schools for Jewish children are Jewish in nothing except their language of instruction. The pupils are taught class hatred, and to despise even their fathers if they were members of the bourgeoisie. The children learn to believe only the dogma of Marxism as interpreted by Lenin, and to renounce all the national traditions of Judaism.

Militant divisions have been created in the general educational institutions. These divisions—the Komsomol, or Communist Union of Youth, and the Pioneers, or younger candidates for such a union—have as their purpose the destruction of the old world and the furthering of an international Communist revolution.

In view of the blind dogmatism of the Communist Church independent Jewish scholarship or literature is naturally out of the question. Several universities —Moscow, Kiev, Minsk—have Jewish chairs, and some scholarly works are published in Yiddish. Yet it is manifest that genuine scholarship is impossible in a land devoid of even the most elementary freedom of thought. The yoke of an inquisitional censorship has devitalized literature completely. Both the Jewish and the general press constitute a government monopoly. The three Yiddish newspapers published by the Yevsektsia—*Emes* at Moscow, *Stern* at Charkhov, *Octabiar* at Minsk—are mere instruments of party propaganda. Independent papers or books are non-existent; when, very occasionally, a collection of essays does appear it is subjected to a rigorous censorship that deprives the author of all individuality.

Artistic creation must follow the dictates of a "social order." The Government commands an author to write a story or poem on some Communist theme, and the commission is filled as if it were a question of making a pair of shoes to measure. As a result the impudent and ungifted prevail. The rare sparks of talent that at times shine forth are quickly smothered in an atmosphere lacking the oxygen of freedom. The most important scholarly and literary figures of the past have left a country where thought is enslaved. Those who have remained are forced to suppress all their creative impulses. A book expressing some freedom of spirit cannot find a publisher, for publishing also is a government monopoly. Frequently authors dare not even submit their works to the censor, lest they fall into the hands of the Cheka.

IN the first years of Bolshevism the Jews, though ruined and enslaved, had one hope: that there would be no anti-Semitic excesses under this government—at least not among the Russian proletariat, which was generally supposed to be free of all nationalist and religious prejudice. But even this hope proved illusory; for the growth of a violent anti-Semitism has lately begun to express itself in various ways. Jewish working-men are beaten by their Russian comrades in the factories; Jewish working-women are insulted; and there have even been some murders. "I killed him because I am a Russian and he is a Jew," one of the slayers declared during his trial.

This is due to the fact that the Communist Party is composed largely of those elements which under the Czar would have belonged to the Black Hundred. They have changed their color to red in order to enjoy the privileges of the ruling party. The Soviet courts punish such examples of violence; but the situation persists nonetheless. Small wonder, then, that the Jews dread the future, and think with terror of what may happen if the Bolshevist dictatorship should give way to a new Monarchist régime, if the now latent pogrom energy should break forth. The result would be more terrible than the year 1919 in the Ukraine.

The finest among the Russians dream of a bloodless liquidation of Bolshevism and a peaceful transition to a democratic republic. But this dream will hardly be realized. It is much more likely that the political pendulum will swing from a dictatorship of the Left to that of the Right. The only other alternative is an interval of complete anarchy. Such an interval, however, would spell ruin for the Jewish population. Two and a half million Jews now find themselves between a terrible present and an even more terrible future—between a Red and a Black-White dictatorship. If mass emigration to America were possible now as it was before the War, Russia would lose most of her Jewish population in the course of the next few years—despite the fact that Bolshevist jails do not readily relinquish their prisoners.

VI

POLAND AND OTHER NEW COUNTRIES

THE transformation of Poland, Lithuania and Latvia into independent countries saved more than three milion Jews from the fate of the Russian Sodom. The legal rights of the Jews in these three republics are regulated by constitutions which guarantee the rights of national minorities—though as yet with insufficient clarity—on the basis of international treaties.

The new Polish Republic, which embraced territories formerly belonging to Russia, Austria and Germany, became a large "commonwealth of nationalities." The Jews, who numbered almost three million, formed a considerable minority in the country, as did the Ukrainians, the White Russians and the Germans. At first the belligerent nationalism of the young country could not bring itself to recognize the equality of the Jewish minority. But finally it was forced to do so by the activity of the political organization of Polish Jewry with its twenty to forty deputies in both houses of the Polish Parliament—the Seim and the Senate.

Then the Polish anti-Semites withdrew to another position. Although they formally recognized the equal rights of the Jews, they conducted matters in such fashion that they actually forced them out of the various branches of economic life. They introduced a system of taxation which exempted the villages but pressed heavily on the cities. And since the Jewish population made up the predominant element of the cities, the Jews became the chief payers of the state taxes.

This situation has had a disastrous effect on the Jewish merchant class, especially in view of the decrease of trade and manufacture in Poland since it has been cut off from the previous huge Russian market. Jews are also excluded from all branches of the civil service. They cannot be cabinet ministers nor, at the other end of the scale, can they be letter carriers or railroad conductors. The *numerus clausus* for Jews is in vogue, though a larger percentage of admissions are allowed than was the case in old Russia. Jewish students are forced to seek a welcome in the universities of France, Germany and other Western countries.

Since the *coup d'état* of Pilsudski in 1926 governmental anti-Semitism is not as overt as it formerly was. But the leaning of the new régime toward Fascism is ominous. A struggle for equal rights has possibilities of success only in the pure atmosphere of a democracy.

The Jewish group in Parliament—"Kolo" in the Seim and in the Senate under the leadership of Deputy I. Gruenbaum and others—energetically defends the people it represents and frequently unites with the deputies of other national minorities to oppose the government. The struggle against economic anti-Semitism is not confined to political protest. The Jews have adopted a policy of continuous self-aid. Co-operative associations of all kinds, loan societies, trade unions and various other organizations of like character enable the Jewish masses to withstand the pressure of the governmental machine.

POLAND has inherited from the old Russia an intense political factionalism. This tendency is also manifest among the Jews. In addition to the Left and Right branches of Zionism there is a constantly growing Social-Democratic Bund, which has established itself in Poland since the majority of the Russian Bundists deserted to the Bolshevist camp. O[illegible] recent years this party has veered to the Left and is therefore not a member of the Second International of Socialist Workers, which the Bundists consider too moderate. Yet despite its too violently expressed class consciousness the Bund does aid national cul-

tural autonomy, particularly along educational lines —as is evidenced by the Central Yiddish School Organization in Warsaw.

Communism is fairly wide-spread, particularly among the young workers and students; but these suffer only from the adolescent measles of Leftism, a malady peculiar to a certain stage of political development. Extreme Right tendencies, on the other hand, have also grown stronger in Polish Jewry. The orthodox Agudath Israel is constantly assuming a more vehement form in its rôle of the "militant synagogue"; it equally denies both national and social progress.

Whether or not the Jews of any given locality are fanatically Left or fanatically Right depends on the environment in which they find themselves. They follow the example of the people around them— whether they live among extreme Bolshevists or extreme Fascists.

THIS unrest testifies to an excess of social energy which finds expression in constructive cultural work also. Since the destruction of the Jewish spiritual centers in Russia, Warsaw and Vilna have become the chief literary centers of Eastern Jewry. A press richly representative of all shades of opinion is published in Yiddish; Hebrew, however, is practically crowded out. A varied popular literature, scholarly and literary clubs, meetings, lectures, a national theatre—all these bear witness to an unexpended reserve of spiritual wealth flourishing in the midst of material poverty.

The rise of Fascism in little Lithuania—the government of Waldemaras ruling without a parliament— destroyed the beginnings of Jewish autonomy. Lithuania, angered by her loss of Vilna, repented the liberalism of her early days and the faithful fulfillment of her obligations to the Jewish national minority, which numbered about one hundred and fifty thousand souls. The Jewish National Soviet and the Jewish cabinet were dissolved in 1923. After the upheaval of 1926 the independence of the Jewish communities was greatly limited. Jewish parliamentary representation disappeared with the dissolution of the Jewish Parliament. In this fashion the Jews lost a forum where they might draw attention to violations of international obligations. At present, civil equality is formally observed; but the economic life of the Jews, cut off from the markets of hostile Poland and Soviet Russia, is a difficult one. Only the spiritual vigor of the Lithuanian Jew saves him from despair in the melancholy days of reaction.

Latvia, untouched by the malady of the age—a Left or Right dictatorship—observed her obligations to the Jewish minority of one hundred and five thousand in most respects. Educational autonomy is assured by a special Jewish Department with a Jewish head, which is part of the general Department of Education. The parliamentary rights of Jews are upheld by five or six deputies, representatives of the Zionists, the Bundists and the Agudists. A Jewish press and a Yiddish theatre are developing normally.

Diminutive Esthonia, adjoining Latvia, gave complete cultural autonomy to her national minorities, including the Jewish one of five thousand people, in 1925. These oases of freedom form a sharp contrast to the huge neighboring desert of slavery, Bolshevist Russia.

THE observer of the post-War Diaspora will find a comparison of Hungary and Rumania instructive. Hungary, a conquered country, vented her grievance on the Jewish population of five hundred thousand people. She found an excuse in the participation of Bela Kun and several other Jewish Communists in the creation of the ephemeral Soviet Republic of 1919. The reaction of 1920–23 brought with it a savage anti-Semitism. Jewish pedestrians were beaten on the streets of Budapest and other cities. Organized bands of Magyar "patriots"—one of the leaders of which was the blood-thirsty anti-Semitic Deputy Hejas —frequently attacked Jewish homes and synagogues. On one occasion they threw a bomb into a large Jewish assemblage, killing and wounding many.

The reactionary government of Admiral Horthy placed no obstacles in the path of these mob passions. After Bela Kun had been atoned for by the population as a whole, the anti-Semitic tendencies of the Magyar student body grew stronger than ever. The students, one of the most demoralized groups of European post-War youth, demanded that the *numerus clausus* be instituted in the higher institutions of learning. When the government yielded to these demands they lusted for further capitulations. In many universities the students began to demand an even greater decrease in the number of Jewish students; in some cases they even asked for their complete exclusion—the *numerus nullus*. These demands were reinforced by beatings of Jewish students and by their ejection from lecture halls and laboratories.

When the Council of the League of Nations reminded the Hungarian Minister of Education of existing international guarantees of the rights of minorities, he promised to correct the situation, but instead he yielded to the pressure of the students' terrorism and in 1928 had the parliament legalize a masked *numerus clausus*. The assimilated circles of the terrified Jewish community defended themselves with equal inefficiency against both actual violence and the destruction of their rights. Their patriotic servility reached such depths that they even renounced their rights as a national minority; but the only result of this step was that they lost their right to appeal to the League of Nations.

The Jews of Rumania, who had to endure much from the chauvinism of their conquerors, conducted themselves in a different fashion. When the quasi-liberal government of Bratianu, the son of the notorious anti-Semite, returned to power in 1922, the old tactics against the Jews were renewed. The inter-

national treaties were falsely interpreted to the detriment of the Jews; the Rumanian people, the government tried to show, did not wish to grant equal rights to "foreigners." To demonstrate this the government gave free rein to the fiercely anti-Semitic party of Professor Cuza of Jassy, which was permitted to terrorize the Jewish population for several years.

Jewish pogroms were instigated in the old and new territories of Greater Rumania: in Regata, which had been part of old Rumania; in Transylvania, which had been captured from the Hungarians; and in the formerly Austrian Bukowina and the once Russian Bessarabia. Rumanian students, no less demoralized than their Hungarian colleagues, conscientiously applied themselves to this task in Bucharest, Jassy, Czernowitch and Klausenburg. The police were on friendly terms with the *pogromchiks*. When the Jassy Prefect of Police attempted to hinder their activities he was shot by the anti-Semitic student Kodreanu. In December, 1927, five thousand students who had gathered to attend a congress in the Transylvanian city of Grosvardein perpetrated serious pogroms, destroying synagogues, beating Jews and plundering their stores first in Grosvardein and later in Klausenburg.

Vigorous protests were made in Europe and America. The Rumanian government, which was seeking a loan in the United States, hastened to defend itself, and promised to forbid such excesses in the future. The tribe of Bratianu would naturally not have kept this promise; in 1928, however, they were replaced by the Government of Maniu, the leader of the Peasant Party. This Government was the first to establish some semblance of order in the chaotic country. The new Jewish center in Rumania—numbering almost a million people, four times as many as formerly—shows a tendency to follow the steps of Polish Jewry in its struggle for rights. No longer are there timid pleadings in the ante-rooms of Jew-hating statesmen. Instead, a freely elected Jewish delegation appears on the parliamentary rostrum, and a Jewish party is being created in the Parliament. Even the assimilated elements of old Rumania are being drawn into the political organization of the Jewish national minority.

Among the other new or renewed states Czechoslovakia with her three hundred and fifty thousand Jews and Jugoslavia, whose Jews number seventy thousand, have as yet given no cause for complaint in regard to their observance of their obligations toward the Jewish minority. Two different views are held by the Jewish minority in the republic of Czechoslovakia: about half consider themselves members of the Jewish *national* minority; the others consider themselves Jews only in the matter of religion—their nationality they think of as Czech, German or Hungarian. This state of mind is the result of assimilation in the former Austro-Hungarian empire.

Jewish minorities in which the Sephardim predominate—as in Greek Salonica, for example—are gradually being organized in Greece, whose Jewish population numbers one hundred and fifteen thousand. The same condition prevails among the fifty thousand Jews of Bulgaria. In Turkey, which has one hundred and sixty thousand Jews, Kemal Pasha is forcibly Europeanizing and at the same time nationalizing the population. The Jewish notables of Constantinople have under government pressure renounced their rights as a national minority; but their assimilation as Turks has small chances of success.

The assimilationist tradition is still strong among the three hundred thousand Jews of German Austria. These Jews, concentrated in Vienna and its suburbs, are as yet unable to acknowledge themselves a national minority. But if the Austro-German dream of a political union with Germany, which would lead to a fusion of Austrian and German Jewry, should fail, the Viennese Jews might consider the advisability of casting off their German mask and stepping forward as an independent nationality.

VII

WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA

In Western Europe it is Germany which is particularly interested in the problem of national minorities. Germany considers herself especially called upon to defend the rights of German minorities scattered throughout Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy and the Baltic States. In return the Germans are ready to grant cultural autonomy to the Polish groups dispersed throughout German territory.

The German Jews do not claim to be a national minority. Some shy at that designation because they feel themselves to be completely assimilated; others because they fear the *rishus* of anti-Semitism—which, however, is directed quite as much against those Jews who consider themselves German by nationality as against the others. As a matter of fact, anti-Semitism has since the War acquired a more malevolent character among the German reactionaries who oppose the new democratic Republic. For the monarchists and militarists, yearning for the mailed fist, are unable to stomach the *Judenrepublik*, as they contemptuously name the new governmental system of which Germany is rightly proud.

Anti-Republicanism and anti-Semitism form a single plank in the political programs of the parties of the extreme Right—the *Völkische* and National-Socialist Parties.

Anti-Semitism also occupies an important position in the platform of the conservative German-National Party, which is supported by militarist youth societies such as the *Stahlhelm*. These groups tend to give violent expression to their anti-Jewish sentiments, and have proved particularly susceptible to the rabid

propaganda of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a pamphlet composed by a Russian whose reputation has never been any too good.

In this famous volume the author—who was once connected with the Czar's Police Department—invents the following fictitious resolution passed by an equally fictitious Jewish Congress: "Dissension is to be aroused among the Christian nations so as to precipitate a world war which will destroy the Christian world and give the victory to the chosen people of Israel." The Kaiser, General Ludendorff and others of those actually responsible for Germany's difficulties were quick to seize upon this slanderous fabrication as on a rock of salvation: They, hapless men, had been ruined by secret Masonic alliances of the Jews which had involved the country in war and had overthrown the German throne.

It was these reactionary circles that produced the infamous murderers who, in June, 1922, assassinated the Republican Minister Walther Rathenau, an ardent patriot who had done much to lighten the burden of Germany during the War and immediately after it. Terrified by this orgy of anti-Semitism, many German Jews became afraid of even the faintest mention of the question of Jewish nationalism. While they may grant the right of the East European Jews to form national minorities, they prefer, where they themselves are concerned, to be considered members of either the German nation or the problematic nation of Zion: "The Jews will be a normal nation in the reconstructed land of Palestine."

In those countries where the Jews have less reason to fear anti-Semitism—France and England, for example—assimilationist tendencies are even stronger. It is characteristic of the Jewish attitude of these lands that the Parisian *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and the London Joint Foreign Committee refused to sign the historic memorandum on the rights of national minorities presented to the Peace Conference by the Committee of Jewish Delegations in 1919. As for the Jews of Fascist Italy—they, of course, find it impossible to call themselves a nation without risking the loss of Mussolini's good will.

GERMAN Jewry still maintains its leadership among the Western Jewries. But even among the assimilated elements there is a large reserve of potential energy which may be directed toward the national current: the previous desire to conceal one's Jewishness is steadily growing weaker. The outstanding figures in science, literature and politics—such as Einstein, Eduard Bernstein and others—no longer conceal their Zionist sympathies or allegiance. German Zionism is gradually passing from a denial of "Galuth autonomy" to its recognition. This recognition was greatly furthered by the drawing together of Western and Eastern Jewry—a remarkable phenomenon of our time, rich in historic significance. The huge political emigration from the shattered Russian center brought a new influx of energy into the Jewish communities of the West. Many emigrants, among them some of the foremost Jewish intellectuals, gave a fresh impetus to the communities through which they were scattered.

With the help of Western Jewry and America, these "prophets of the East" created the above-mentioned "Committee of Jewish Delegations" in Paris—the embryo of a great national organization. This Committee undertook to guard the national interests of Jewry at a turning-point in our history. It was the first to place the problem of Jewish national minorities before an international forum. It was the first to present this question as an organic part of the problem of minorities in general. It appealed to the League of Nations and to the political organizations of various countries in protest against Ukrainian pogroms, Polish, Rumanian and Hungarian excesses and the violation of the rights of Jewish minorities.

In August, 1927, the Zurich conference of Jewish members of parliament and delegates of various European and American organizations decided to change the Committee of Delegations into a newly elected Council for the Rights of Jewish Minorities. The headquarters of the Council were to be in Paris; and an information bureau was established in Geneva, the headquarters of the League of Nations. Through Leo Motzkin, who joined the præsidium of the periodically convened "European Nationalities Congress," the Jewish Council joined the representatives of the German, Slavonic and various other minorities. Many Jewish politicians of the West, accustomed to defend their struggling co-religionists by means of pleas and appeals to various statesmen and diplomats, are unable to reconcile themselves to a policy of open struggle for Jewish rights, as the natural rights of a national minority. But when the League of Nations will become what it should be in power and prestige even the uncomprehending will realize that the destiny of scattered Jewry must be determined not by individual governments, but by a higher council of nations, standing on guard over international rights.

The Jewish West showed itself highly responsive to the economic reconstruction of the shattered Jewish East. The American Joint Distribution Committee—which aided victims in many countries during the World War and after the Russian civil war, and alleviated the plight of hundreds of thousands of the ruined and hungry, of refugees and emigrants—took the leadership in this reconstruction. Of late years the J.D.C., whose European headquarters are in Berlin under the direction of Bernard Kahn, devotes itself primarily to rehabilitating the economic condition of the Jewish communities of Poland and the neighboring countries. It also takes an active part in the agricultural colonization of Soviet Russia. Of the organizations created by the Eastern political emigrants with the assistance of their Western brethren the ORT is the most active in the task of economic reconstruction. Formerly the Society for Handicrafts and Agriculture in Russia, it has now been changed into an international organi-

zation with headquarters in Berlin under the direction of L. Bramson. The "laborization" of the Jewish masses, their economic regeneration by changing them from middlemen to producers—an ancient problem going back to the Haskalah—has reappeared in the West; and this solution is constantly winning new partisans.

The OZE, the former Society for Safeguarding the Health of the Jewish Population of Russia, also has renewed its activities in exile, with headquarters in Berlin. The regulation of Jewish emigration from Europe to trans-oceanic countries has at last been taken over by a special organization, the Emigration Directory of Berlin and Paris, under the management of M. Kreinin. This society works together with the Paris Colonization Society, the ICA, and the American Hias or Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society. In view of the great difficulties now attendant upon trans-oceanic emigration because of the restrictions placed by the United States, Canada, and Argentina upon mass immigration, new colonization centers and new methods of transportation must be discovered. The *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden* aids emigrants passing through Germany and assists in the upkeep of cultural institutions in Eastern Europe. The activities of this group are continued in the spirit of its founder, the recently deceased Paul Nathan. The Society of Russian Jews, founded by Jacob Teitel, cares for the needs of refugees from Soviet Russia. A number of similar organizations in Paris, London and other large cities concern themselves with the task of establishing the remnants of the former Russian Jewish center.

(*Professor Dubnow had here briefly treated of Zionist progress in Palestine and of the strides which have been made to unite all forces in world Jewry for the reconstruction of the Jewish Homeland since the Balfour Declaration. These paragraphs have been eliminated because the subject is dealt with exhaustively in this book by Dr. Arthur Ruppin in a survey of Palestine which begins on page 195, and by other writers reviewing Zionist progress during the past twenty-five years.*—THE EDITOR.)

SINCE the World War the Americas also have entered upon a new phase of their historic development. The constant flood of immigration into the United States has been checked by the restrictive quota law of 1923. Migration to Canada and Argentina also has grown considerably less, for the laws of these countries encourage only agricultural colonization. But large numbers of Jews came into all these lands before the change in their immigration policies.

To-day the American continent has about four and a half million Jews, more than four million of whom live in the United States. Since the downfall of Russia, indeed, America has the largest group of Jews in the Diaspora—a shift that spells future rivalry between America and Europe for leadership in national questions.

The inevitable process of Americanization naturally leaves a special impress on the Jewish masses. But their concentration in large cities such as New York—whose Jewish population is more than a million and a half—and the maintenance of numerous Jewish institutions checks the process of assimilation. The Jewish communities of Europe and America are still bound by a thousand threads; and as long as these ties hold there is little cause to fear the disruptive influence of the American "melting-pot" on a people which has been tested by the fires of cultures no less powerful.

Until now the firmest cohesive factor—aside from religion for the Orthodox—has been Yiddish, which has been able to withstand the terrific competition of English in North and Spanish in South America. The Yiddish papers of New York, Chicago, Montreal and Buenos Aires establish contacts with the press of Warsaw, Vilna, Riga and Kovno.

IF WE balance the gains and losses experienced by the Jewish people in the past fifteen years, we find that the former outweigh the latter. It is true that almost one hundred and fifty thousand Jewish lives were lost in the World War and the Russian civil war, especially in the Ukraine; it is true that the great Russian center of six million Jews is gone—more than one-half partitioned, and the smaller remainder isolated in Soviet Russia from the entire Jewish world.

But we now have a whole new series of cultural centers in Eastern Europe—Poland, Greater Rumania, the Baltic States and others. And these are able to include the shattered remnants of the Russian center. The Jewish question in these states has become part of the general problem of national minorities and consequently has come under the jurisdiction of the League of Nations.

Since the awarding of the Palestine Mandate to Great Britain Zionism too has entered the international arena. After the organization of the Jewish Agency it is bound to become the concern of the entire Jewish people.

In addition, the ancient dispute between Zionism and "galuth nationalism" is fast nearing solution through the principle of *suum fenique*. Palestine will be a quantitatively small but qualitatively large national center. The huge Diaspora will continue its historic struggles for national existence under conditions more favorable than those of the nineteenth century. In recent times we have seen an example of this dualism: In Palestine Hebrew has changed from a purely literary language to a living, daily tongue. It has been revitalized in a fashion strange to it for two thousand years. In the greater part of the Diaspora, however, Yiddish—which possessed but a very barren literature—has become the preponderant medium of Jewish journalism, scholarship and literature in Europe and America.

All portions of Jewry must co-operate to maintain and develop our national culture. Only through a profound consciousness of the inner unity of our geographically dispersed nation can we continue to knit the immeasurably long thread of our history.

The Emergence of Theodor Herzl

A Contrast Between the Litterateur and the Jewish Leader

By ARNOLD ZWEIG

It is the contrast between the period of immaturity and that of full stature that makes of this study of Herzl, by the eminent author of "The Case of Sergeant Grischa," an objective, sympathetic but logically critical character sketch. Because of the late arrival of this article it has been placed at the end of this volume, instead of in Section I where it properly belongs.

WE ARE not prepared to accept at its face value the legend of Herzl, of the regal Jew who proudly with fine ardor turns his back upon a brilliant career in order to devote himself to the broken life of the Jewish people, to restore to this life its natural dignity. Nor do we agree with the interpretation that would classify him as a man of elemental action who leaves his writing for that domain which is peculiarly his own, for the realm of deeds. Let us therefore examine the psychology of Theodor Herzl with an unprejudiced mind, negating that which is objectionable and paying homage to that which is worthy of honor.

There is no dearth of material. We have books and diaries containing matter inaccessible heretofore, written by himself or by his friends Friedemann and Leon Kellner. Until now, however, no one has attempted that which is the essence of the biographer's task—to extricate the true nature and personality of the man from the confusion of facts and data, to eliminate the incidental that his figure may stand out clearly. Hence we feel called upon to seek the formula that will reveal the chemical constituents of this life—its associations, growth and purification. For this unique Theodor Herzl has become the hero of an entire younger generation—his appearance helped to give our life its form. Everything concerning him is now the property of his people.

Unfortunately our knowledge of the period of his development—of his early years, of the young Herzl—depends entirely upon the more or less intimate and by no means complete book of Leon Kellner, who fails to describe some important aspects of the growth of that youthful mind. Thus we do not learn just what shape was assumed by his indifference to religion, what influences caused his first decided rejection of things Jewish. Nor are we told what elements of the older German literature appeal to him, or of his reaction to philosophy, music and the plastic arts.



ARNOLD ZWEIG

We do not become familiar with his attitude toward the great literary masters of his time, toward those who determined the course of letters. Yet Herzl had always wanted to devote himself to literature. The years of his schooling and development, from 1875 to 1895, fell in the period during which world fame came to Nietzsche, Tolstoy, Dostoievsky, Flaubert, Maupassant, Zola and Anatole France; when Wagner and Edgar Allan Poe, Baudelaire and Verlaine bored through the mud-embankments of malice and stupidity with which a self-satisfied bourgeois age had surrounded itself; when discussions of Gottfried Keller and Ibsen, of Taine and Krapotkin must have been current.

These names represent creative forces that could not have passed unperceived by Herzl even though specifically Jewish currents left him untouched. And if there is no record of all this the biographer should, at least, have remarked upon this silence—which in itself is very eloquent.

THE literary figures we do meet are Lindau and Blumenthal, Levysohn and Bacher. Thus we have here a young author who even in his apprenticeship falls under the spell of the newspaper. The lofty peaks toward which he strives are the exalted heights of the feuilleton as then cultivated in the *Neue Freie Presse*. He enters upon the bizarre life of a social lion and professional writer—and not one of his biographers appears to realize what a tragedy that is. He now becomes a master feuilletonist and, together with men like Wittmann (whoever that may be) and Lindau, writes comedies good for an evening's entertainment.

Not to mention something more significant: While German naturalism—infused with the spirit of France and Russia, shaken by the moral impulse given it by its men of letters, forced by the misery of the age to descend to the horrible depths where broken, drowning men have their being—was determined in its products only by its need for relief through expression, the *genus Herzl* was writing things like *Muttersöhnchen* or *Glosse*, naming its heroes Guy de Montsoreau or "the mad Rosen"; and if we analyze one of its greatest dramatic

successes, *Die Wilddiebe*, we see merely a triviality which in no way mirrors the actual latent depths of the author.

If only his personality were less fascinating! Elegance is the very breath of his life. His German is smooth and facile, a fluent journalese. Sensitive as a cavalier when his honor is involved, pure of heart, he dislikes the more offensive cliques of his guild. But his entire horizon and mental outlook are determined by the daily paper. Even just before the Third Congress he is delighted by the thought of a "drama" whose title is to be nothing less than *Die sündige Mutter*. An envelope found among his papers —containing ideas and plans for literary work—bears the ingenious inscription *Erlebtes*, *Erlauschtes*, *Erdachtes*.

This is how he presents himself to our view constantly, from his earliest youth. Never does he feel himself at variance with his conceited, godless epoch. Exemplary at home and in school, as good a student as any one could wish. No inner desolation or torture, no sense of the mystery, the unfathomableness of human life, no doubt or despair brings about a conflict that might herald a personality of consequence. His is one of those natures that develop late. His intellectual immaturity is quite evident in his early portraits, which might represent any young barrister or handsome merchant.

Nothing differentiates him from the milieu in which he moves—the Viennese literary and social world. He is sufficiently wealthy, well bred and always at his ease. The writings of his youth show not a single unique, soul-stirring thought; they manifest no appreciation of the first slight tremors that presage the upheaval of the social order he approves and enjoys. Neither his soul nor his mind are attuned to an appreciation of true art or greatness; not the faintest breath of passion emanates from him. Nothing, nothing whatever indicates any realization on his part that the spirit of his time is almost *in extremis*. Nothing whatever presages the terrific emotional upheaval and intellectual flash that will some day loom as his dominant personality. Why, therefore, should his ideal be aught but the glorious achievement of being esteemed as highly by his contemporaries as that insignificant Oscar Blumenthal?

And this is his ideal. Instead of comprehension of Nature he gives us sentimentalities; the admiring Kellner, indeed, illustrates Herzl's feeling for natural beauties with samples that make us blush with shame. Again: "He stayed in Rome for only a week, but nonetheless had time to write several feuilletons." His ideal of a man—according to his biographer's statement, against which we should gladly protest—is represented by that epicurean cynic of the feuilleton "who followed him as a shadow even to the grave": the supercilious, blasé dandy Graf Trast, a figure as affected as any of Sudermann's, superior to all humanity and yet a sham—as painfully stupid as Koheleth in a frock-coat.

If HE had felt entirely at his ease in this atmosphere there would have been no hope for him. But beneath his apparent complacency in his success there raged an unrest and a breathless ambition that always is a symptom of inner dissatisfaction with oneself. We must always take into account the fact that manifestly Herzl is of the late-maturing type of Jew—a type which never receives as much notice as that which matures early; for the representative of the former type cannot resist his urge to express and communicate his thoughts on matters of secondary importance, in fields where it is only too easy to find makeshifts and where the production of trifles will bring him a livelihood or cheap triumphs in the eyes of petty contemporaries. Only faint indications of inner restlessness and lack of spiritual satisfaction reveal the fact that this is an aberration.

In Herzl those symptoms appear only in 1892, at Paris. He is thirty-two—at the second critical turning-point of youth—and, his eyes opened by various failures, he sees that his age has outgrown and, fundamentally, rejected him. To Arthur Schnitzler, the young author of *Märchen*, Herzl writes that he feels as if he were sitting on a rock by the wayside while the other aspirants to literary fame are passing him by. "My manuscripts? I have forgotten them."

Have they suddenly become so bad, or he so much more severe with himself? The truth of the matter is that now for the first time in his career he has been forced to deal with reality, with the matter-of-fact, ruthless, cruelly hard life of his age. He had been combating reality and genuineness in art, and had instead taken a vapidly conventional world as the subject of literary work. Had he remained so permeated with the literary judgment of his time he would never have been able to endure the powerful, devastating effect of actual life.

The condition of the proletariat—which alone and unaided must bear the terrific pressure of the entire political structure—and the attempts to alleviate the resultant misery arouse in him his first fruitful passion. And as he devotes himself fervently to the work of relieving suffering—a work which arises spontaneously throughout that Paris of the Third Republic—the true Herzl is heralded at last: a writer who does not content himself with description, who finds no delight in mere analysis and knowledge, but who must take an active part in the work, who must help the wretched and ameliorate their situation. The graceful *causeur* is metamorphosed into a true journalist of the best type—the type sired by the great Voltaire.

He becomes effectively active, is filled with faith in the possibility of not only aid but of rapid success; he is convinced of the fundamental rationality of the spirit—the appeal to reason—and of life and human relationships; and he firmly believes that co-operation through the printed word is sure to bear fruit. Herzl is the spiritual brother of Harden; all the rest of his life he remains the journalist he became in Paris

for the diplomat usually sees and observes affairs as a journalist—with the difference that he transforms writing into negotiation; he, too, is ruled by the momentary state of affairs.

That which Herzl thus absorbed of the social question he now applies to the problem which is to become his most important concern—the Jewish question. Even though he uses the dramatic form in *Das neue Ghetto*, although he believes his *Judenstaat* to be a treatise on constitutional law, he remains a journalist, the representative of a significant and innerly well-justified form of human activity, a combatant who uses the powerful weapon of the public conscience.

ONLY after this regaining of his faculty of seeing, only after this deflation of his literary efforts does the Jewish question—his life as a Jew in his day—present itself to him as a reality. True, he had felt anti-Semitism both as a child and as a student. Then, however, his experience was without effect; now his soul, better prepared, is profoundly disturbed and shaken. It is not that any fundamental change has taken place in his character. The knowledge of an intolerable reality has forced itself upon him—and he thinks he can brush it aside with a play and a pamphlet, with an appeal for a practical changing of conditions.

Kellner's book closes with the conception of the *Judenstaat*. And this point, indeed, represents the line of demarcation between the early, unimpressive Herzl and the man he became later, after he had undergone his great transformation and had been borne toward perfection by the only vehicle which can approach it quickly—suffering. It has long been known that the regeneration of Herzl as a Jew was due solely to the encounter between his inherent proudly aristocratic spirit and the savage attacks made by anti-Semitism about 1890. But the feeling that gripped him was a gloriously elemental and resolute national consciousness; and its passion, its explosive penetration into his soul could appear as nothing less than divine inspiration to this man of letters with his complete lack of experience in such affairs. Growing increasingly conscious of himself, he gathered all his talent and experience, his conjectures and notions into that remarkable document which we know as the *Judenstaat*.

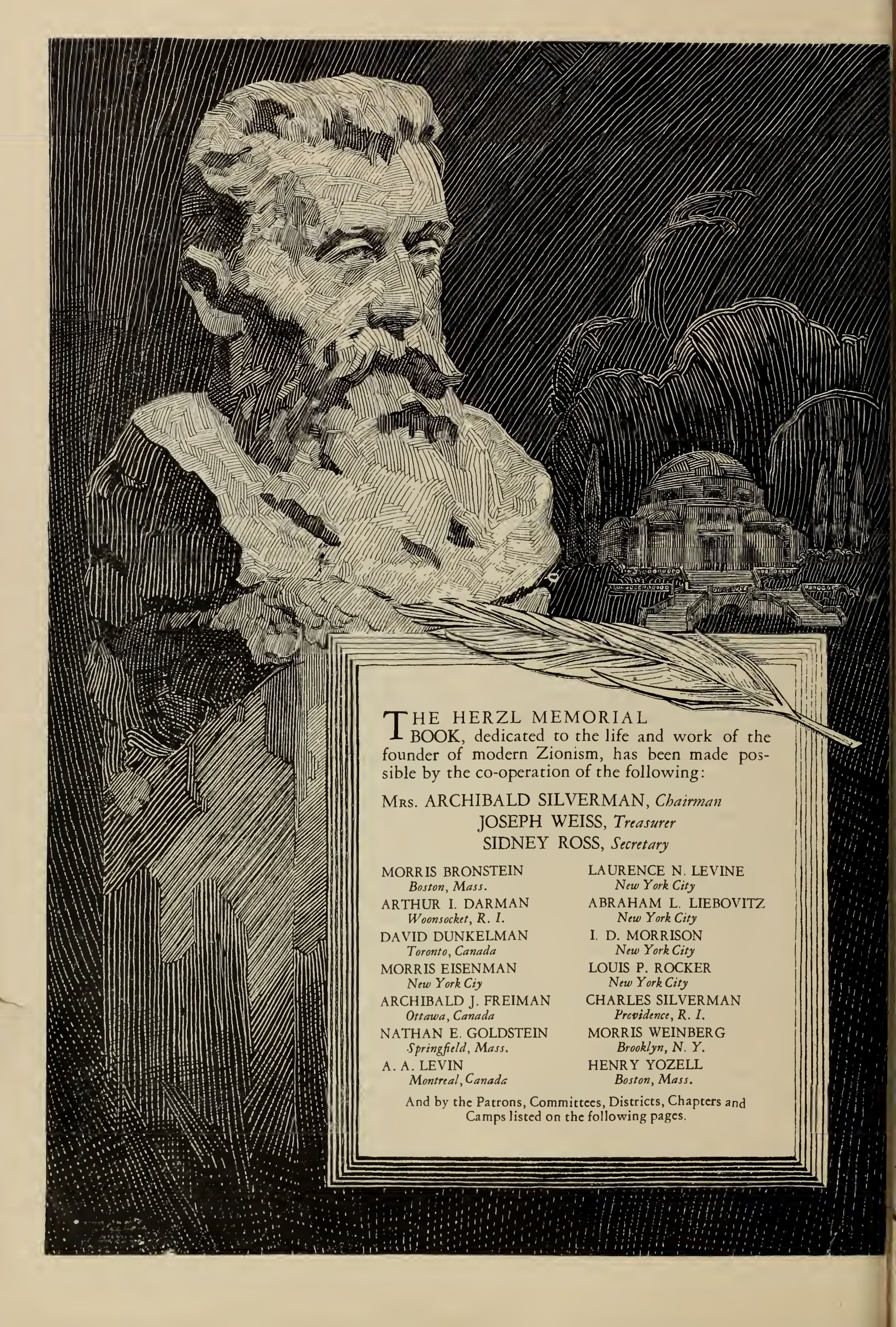
Of the old, inactive Jewish longing for Zion he made, with his practical work, the basis for an attempt at realization through all the means of modern political organization. He gave actual expression to the now unquestioned unity of the Jewish people by giving a national form to its life. But the mere fact that this illumination struck him, that he was able to believe in the possibility of translating his dream into fact, that he had faith in its power of regeneration—this reveals something childlike and virginal in his soul, an element of genius and creative power that never was manifest in any of the writings of Herzl the litterateur.

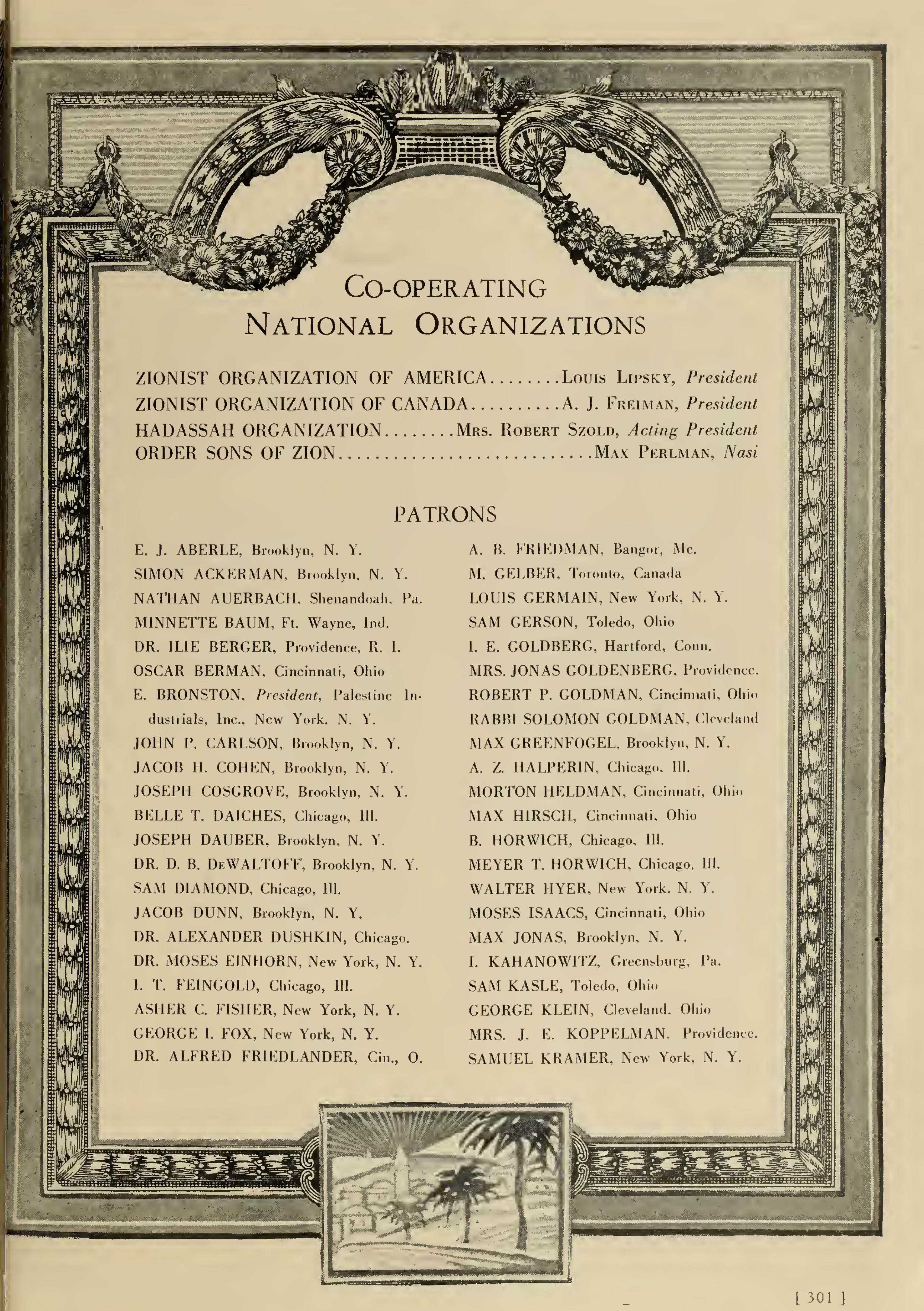
YET he supposed that his task would be completed with the publication of this pamphlet; at most he expected to reply to questions and attacks. "To evoke the Jewish question and then to dismiss it," as if he could take it up and drop it at will—this was his idea. He believed that others would execute his project quickly and without conflict. He even had faith in Western Jewry, with which he surely should have been familiar. He thought the political opposition of the non-Jewish world would be relatively negligible. At the same time his concept of the community to be created was almost grotesquely erroneous—thus *Altneuland*. And his notion of those depths of human nature that give rise to the ramifications and persistence of human misery was hardly more correct.

"I believe I shall be counted among the greatest benefactors of mankind"—"I believe that individual life has ended for me and history has commenced." The man who wrote these sentences in his *Diaries* in 1895—prophetically, because they were not yet founded upon fact, because he stood only on the threshold of his true achievement—was still far removed from that Theodor Herzl who was to die but nine years later, whose ravaged, magnificent countenance we see in Struck's great etching: Exhausted, racked on the wheel of human opposition onto which he was drawn by an idea that never relinquished its hold upon him.

It did not permit itself to be dismissed, this Jewish question. For in this man who was once of the insignificant and superficial Western world which misused its most intellectual instruments, literature and artistic form, for its jejune works, which knew neither awe or profound emotion nor the ultimate meaning of life—the mystery of the return to faith was to be consummated. The faith was national, not religious; but he returned to it with primitive religious fervor. This was the most Jewish work of the *Teshuvah* for many centuries.

That sudden unfolding of a soul, that sudden self-realization took place in the broad daylight of public attention. Through suffering, he made constant progress to his goal and to greatness. Who cared about the light-hearted, elegant Herzl? Had he died before 1895 this blithe soul would have been merely a date in newspaper history—*Das Palais Bourbon*—nothing more. But the Herzl tortured by his task, the journalist who, because he was a Jew, was gripped and completely changed by the work of realizing his ideas—this proud man who succumbed so soon was able, despite his weak points and his mistakes, to become a power that has shaped a generation, that has developed into a form-giving ideal. This because of his devotion and the nobility of his goal; for in Hebrew a single word—*El*—designates direction, goal and God.


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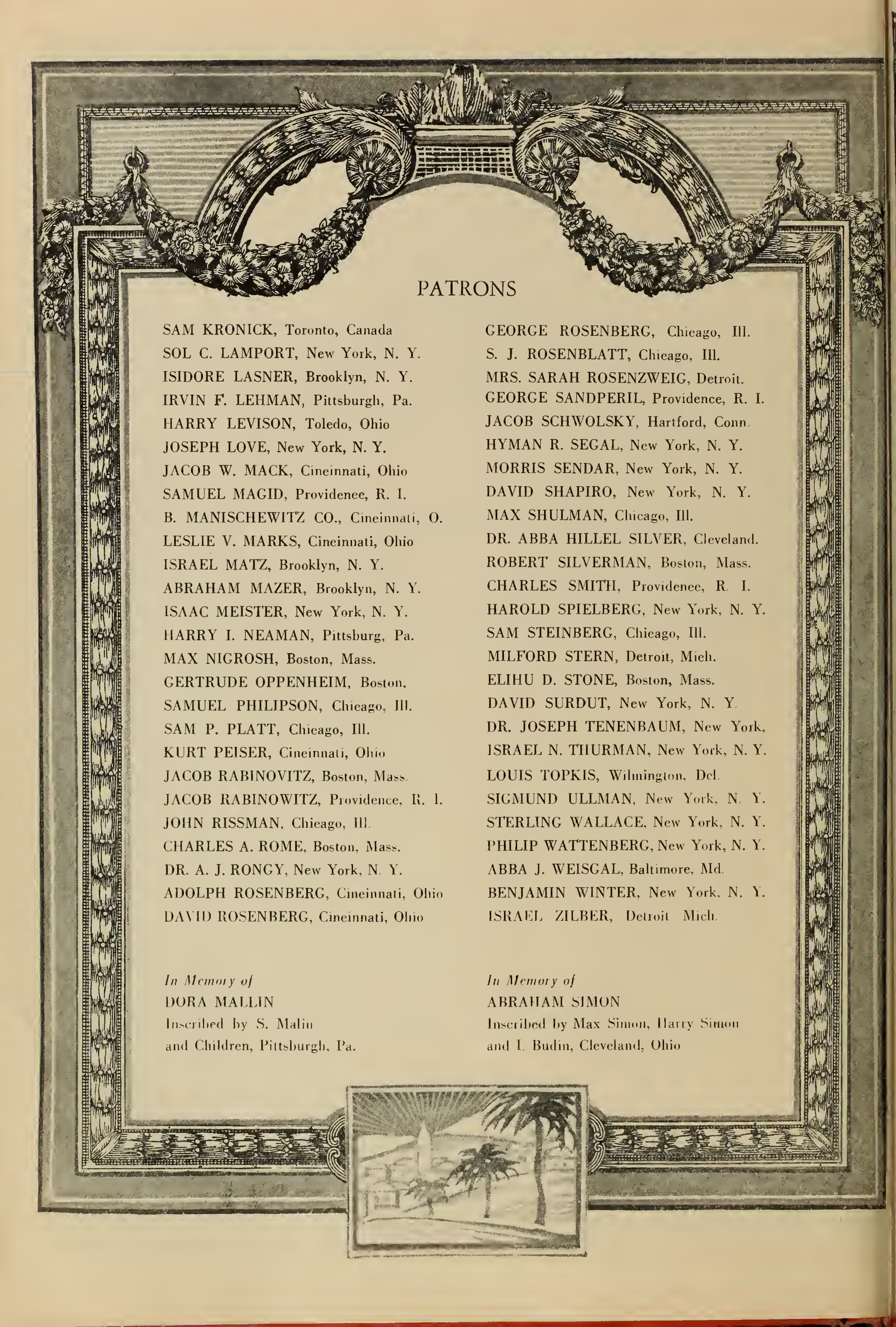


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THE EDITOR REGRETS

THE Editor regrets that the late arrival of a number of manuscripts and lack of space prevented the inclusion in the volume of a number of important and interesting contributions. Some of these manuscripts will be published in forthcoming monthly editions of THE NEW PALESTINE.

Among the articles which were regretfully omitted from the book were "The History of the National Fund" by Dr. A. Granovsky; "The Progress of Hebrew" by Dr. Shalom Spiegel; "The Yiddish Theatre" by Dr. Isaac Goldberg; "The Zionist Flag" by Dr. Dora Askowith; "Kenesseth Israel" by Dr. Jacob Thon; "Herzl and Die Welt" by Adolph Pollak; "The Line of Prophecy" by Rabbi J. L. Landau; "Herzl's Younger Days" by Reuben Brainin; "Herzl and the Arab Problem" by Michael Assaf; "Herzl and European Nationalism" by Horace M. Kallen; "The Legend of Herzl" by Dr. Tulo Nussenblatt; "Herzl and Cultural Zionism" by Dr. Marcus Ehrenpreis; "Herzl's Death" by Dr. Chaim Greenberg; "The New Jew" by Dr. Solomon Goldman; "Herzl's Study" by Fritz Kornberg; "Herzl's Failure with the Pope" by Heinrich York-Steiner, and others.


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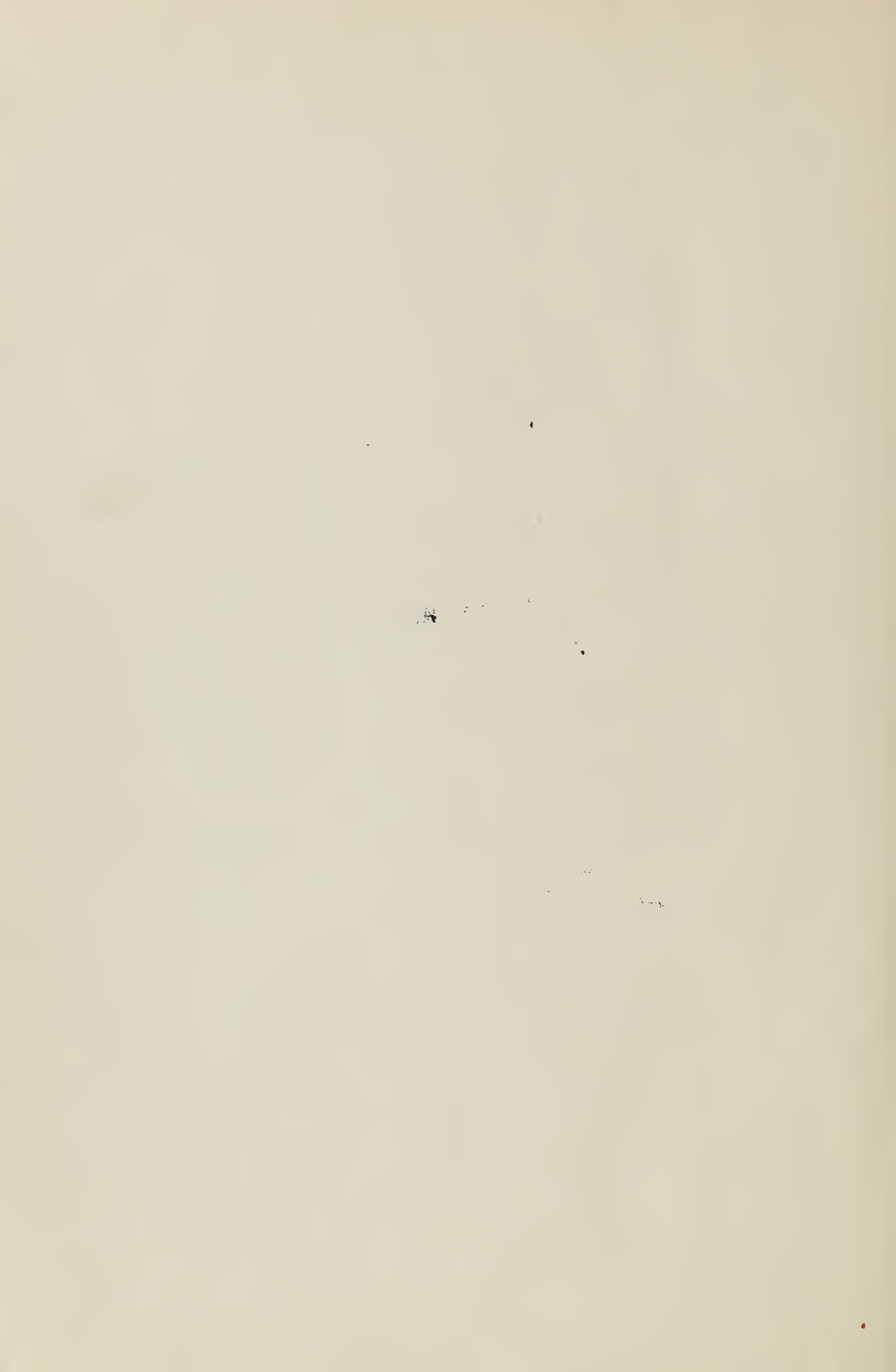

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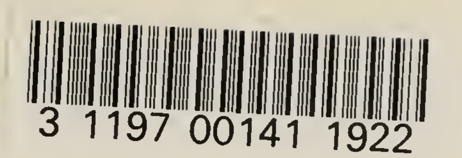











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